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History of Berkshire County,  
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HISTORY OF  
BERKSHIRE COUNTY,

MASSACHUSETTS,

—WITH—

Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men.

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VOLUME I.

Pt. I

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NEW YORK:  
J. B. BEERS & CO.,  
36 Vesey Street.

1885.

HISTORY OF

BERKSHIRE COUNTY,

MASSACHUSETTS.

— WITH —

Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men.

VOLUME I.

NEW YORK:  
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.  
107 NASSAU ST.

1867.



## INTRODUCTION

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IN presenting to the people of Berkshire county this history the publishers would express the hope that it will meet with the favorable reception which they believe the earnest and conscientious labor of its compilers merit. It will be seen by an examination of the work that nearly all the articles in it were prepared by well known persons of the county, and it is believed that their report will be considered a guarantee that every reasonable effort has been made to secure accuracy in the many details which are given. The whole has been revised and corrected by Mr. J. H. A. Smith, of Pittsfield, whose reputation as a careful and competent historian is well known.

While some unimportant errors may, perhaps, be found upon the multitude of details entering into the composition of a work of this character the publishers are confident that the result of the historical labors will be found to be free from mistakes as a work of this kind can well be made, and in behalf of those historians they subscribe themselves to the motto of those who may be disposed to criticize it.

The publishers deem it proper to state that the geographical description in this work, although generally given in accordance with the theories of the writers to which they belong, were not in all cases prepared by the local historians.

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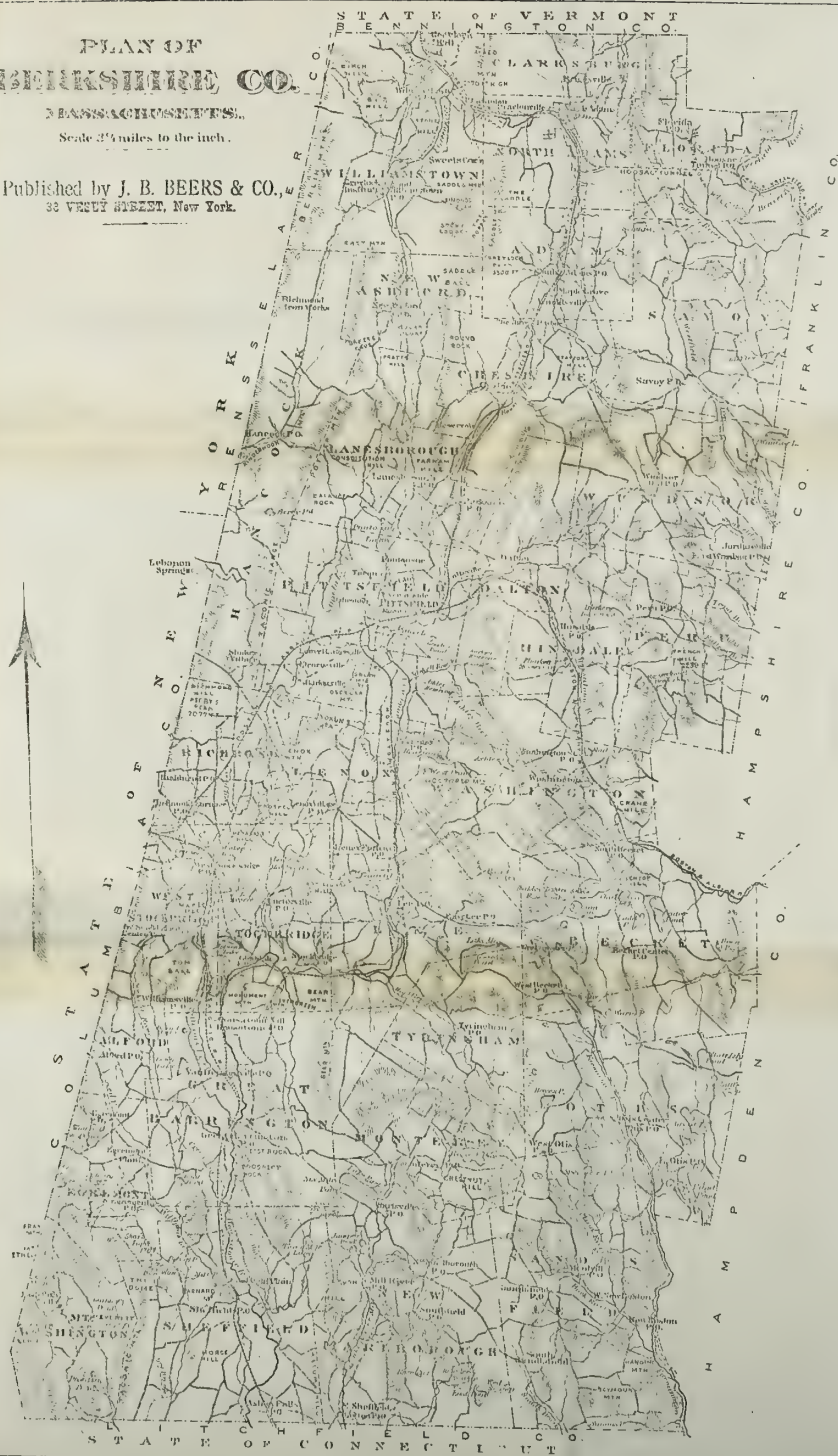


PLAN OF  
FRANKLIN CO.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Scale of 1/2 miles to the inch.

Published by J. B. BEERS & CO.,  
33 NASSAU STREET, New York.





# HISTORY OF BERKSHIRE COUNTY.

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## CHAPTER I.

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### GEOLOGY AND MINERALOGY OF BERKSHIRE COUNTY.

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THE TIME has long since gone by when a belief in the sudden creation of the earth in its present form was generally prevalent. Once it was considered not only heterodox but almost blasphemous for a man to avow his convictions that he saw on the surface of the earth indications of changes that occurred at a period previous to about 4,000 years since. That continents, or even islands, should rise from the sea, become submerged, and emerge again in the lapse of immense time was not deemed possible. Within the limits of historic time no record was given of more than slight changes, and men had not learned to read the record which is written in the strata beneath the surface, and which science has made legible on the edges of these strata where they are visible. That period of ignorance has passed, and people have come to recognize the fact that as far as the records of the past can be deciphered, the earth has been steadily changing in the midst of its changing environments, and that, as far as science is able to peer into the future, changes will continue to succeed each other.

Many changes have taken place in the strata at and near the surface in Berkshire county and its vicinity, but mention can be made of only a few of these that have occurred in geologic periods that must be termed recent, though they may have included millions of years.

It is believed by geologists that during one of these periods the surface here was several hundred feet lower than at present. Then the





southeastern shore of the United States was farther inland, and the Gulf Stream swept from the south parallel with and nearer to the base of the primary Atlantic chain of mountains than at present. Then, too, the basins of the St. Lawrence and Hudson, as well as the Connecticut valleys were occupied by inland seas, through which came Arctic currents that met from the equatorial regions, and that in the resultant current that was deflected eastward was deposited the sediment that constitutes the foundation of Long Island. Then the Housatonic Valley was occupied by a shallower arm of the sea, between which and the deeper seas on each side were the sharp peaks of the Taconic and Housatonic ranges of mountains.

A gradual upheaval took place and these inland seas became the estuaries of rivers; then, as the upward movement continued they assumed the character of rivers through their entire extent. The upheaval went on till the surface here was much higher than at present, and the basin now occupied by Long Island Sound was a valley through which ran the Housatonic to mingle its waters with those of the Hudson at the southern extremity of Manhattan Island. The waters of the Hudson, after receiving those of the Housatonic, coursed what was then a littoral plain, and discharged into the ocean eighty miles from the present mouth of the river. The former bed of the Housatonic through the Sound and of the Hudson across this littoral plain are plainly traceable by soundings. It was during this great upheaval that the glacial period occurred. The ice sheet moved from northwest to southeast, crossing transversely the chains of mountains and hills, and grinding off their peaks and crests so that what were pointed spires became rounded knobs, and sharp, ragged crests were converted into smooth summits. In its slow journey from the distant regions in the northwest it brought with it boulders and other drift materials which it tore from their beds, and after retaining them in its cold embrace during thousands of years deposited them where, in its slow southeasterly course, the greater warmth compelled it to relinquish its hold. Although this region was during an indefinite period covered by the ice sheet, it was comparatively near its southern edge or terminal moraine, which is found to pass lengthwise across the middle of Long Island.

On the exposed surfaces of the rocks in Berkshire county, as elsewhere in this latitude, are to be found evidences of the glacial action that is now believed to have occurred in a geologic period long since gone by. Prominent among these evidences are the smooth or partially polished surfaces of the bed rock, wherever it is exposed, and the parallel grooves or striae on these surfaces. These striae are found to have a northwest and southeast course, those in one locality sometimes varying in direction a few degrees from those of another. This variation in course is believed to be due to local causes, which during the latter part of the glacial period influenced the course of portions of the glacier.

Other evidences of this action are seen in the boulders that are dis-



tributed over the surface, evenly in some places, and in large collections, known as terminal or lateral moraines, in others. These boulders vary in character. The bed rock from which some were torn is only found at great distances northwest from the place where they were left by the glacier, and they are surrounded by others, the characters of which give evidence of their origin in regions less remote, but still considerably distant from where they are now.

There are also to be seen in this county what are known from their locality as the Richmond Boulder trains. These consist of trains of boulders that can be traced to the places of their origin within or just without the limits of this county. They extend from the places where the rock from which they are composed exists or formerly existed, in the same direction with the striae that mark the bed rock, where that is exposed, in their course. The longest of these trains extends about nine miles from the place of its origin, and its greatest width is five hundred feet. The others (six in number) are shorter and less regular, having, in some cases, considerable gaps, though their courses are easily traceable. The boulders in these trains vary in number and in size at different points. In some places they are so thickly strewn as almost to cover the surface. As a general rule they diminish in number as the distance from their sources increases. In size they vary from 125 feet in circumference and 30 feet in height down to small fragments. In size, as in number, they diminish from northwest to southeast. The course of these trains is certainly not dependent on the direction of the ranges of hills and valleys, for it lies transversely across ranges five or six hundred feet in height above the intervening valleys; and often the boulders are found on the crests of ridges that are from 400 to 800 feet higher than the peaks from which they were torn. The general course of the trains, and of the striae on the bed rock, is south  $45^{\circ}$  east. The boulders of the trains are essentially different in appearance from those found in the underlying drift. The former are angular and do not show signs of abrasion, while the latter are rounded and often striated and otherwise abraded.

Four of the seven trains are composed of boulders of chloritic schist, while those of the other three are of chloritic sandstone, gray limestone, and buff limestone; but each is traceable to its source on a mountain peak or knob where the parent rock of the same kind existed, and west of which no such boulders are found.

Boulders do not generally occur in trains, and the inquiry as to what were the circumstances under which these were torn from their beds and distributed where they are found is a natural one.

Various theories have been advanced by different geologists to account for the disruption of these boulders from their beds and their transportation to the places where they are found.

That of Sir Charles Lyell was that they were carried by icebergs, but there appear insuperable objections to that theory.

The generally received explanation of this phenomenon now is that







they were torn from the peaks that furnished the peculiar rock which constitutes the scattered fragments by the post pliocene glacier, which rent them, one by one, or few by few, from their beds and carried them along as it pursued its slow southeasterly course, depositing them as, during the short summers of the approaching warmer period, the southeastern edge of the ice sheet melted so as to liberate them. They were probably torn from the peaks where they existed in place, and as the glacier slowly moved they became imbedded in the ice instead of being dragged along under it, hence the absence of abrasions. In all cases the sharper the peak or knob to which they can be traced the narrower is the train; and in some cases where they were first taken from steep peaks that are rounded and widened as the process went on, the trains are found to be narrow near their farther or southeastern extremities, and to grow wider as their sources are approached. Benton\* says that the gaps found in some of the trains were caused by the temporary failure of the ice to get hold of any of the rock material; the tough schist resisted successfully for a time the efforts of the ice to tear it from its bed; then a mass was obliged to yield to the prolonged strain, and, becoming loosened, the resulting fragments were borne away. The rock left behind being still firmly fixed in its place would in its turn resist for a time, thus causing another gap in the train, till in time another mass would be obliged to yield to the rending action of the ice, and so the process would go on.

Doubtless the boulders were to some extent broken into smaller fragments during their transportation. It is not uncommon to find two lying side by side that were evidently once united in the same boulder; water having entered a fissure, then, by its expansion as it became ice, having torn the parts asunder and still farther separated them by repetition of the process.

It appears highly probable that those boulders were deposited at the close of the last glacial period here, as they do not appear to have been disturbed by any subsequent glacial sheet moving over them.

Want of space prevents a minute and detailed description of the strata which constitute the earth's crust here. These strata have, in the upheavals and subsidences which occurred in past geologic ages, been raised into mountain ridges with intervening valleys, giving to the surface that variety which renders the scenery here so grand and attractive. A history of the formation of these strata and of the changes by which they have been brought to their present condition would be interesting, but it cannot be undertaken here.

Besides being displaced by upheavals, subsidences, and corrugations of the earth's crust, the rocks composing these strata were crystallized or changed by heat into metamorphic rocks. The original sandstones were changed to quartz, mica, slate, etc., and the limestone to marble. In the process of change they have mostly lost their fossils.

The mountains are composed of mica slate. It is often shalified and

---

\*Richmond Boulder Trains.



schistose in structure. Most of the mountains in the county are of this rock. There are many other kinds of rocks associated with the mica slate, some of them in large quantities. Talcose schist is found in the northeastern part of the county, but more abundantly along the Taconic range. Argillaceous schist is sometimes associated with mica slate. Gneiss is found along the eastern part of the county, sometimes forming large beds. Quartz exists in large quantities, and in many places it is the principal rock. Granite is found in boulders, or in large masses, and in veins along the eastern border of the county. An extensive stratum of granular limestone or marble passes through the county from Connecticut to Vermont, and smaller strata extend east from the main bed.

Some of these deposits have been for a long time, and they still are, sources of great wealth. The extensive marble strata along the Housatonic valley have been long worked and have furnished the materials for some of the grandest structures and monuments in the country. Not only have the marble quarries been worked for the building material and slabs and blocks for monuments which they have furnished, but the less valuable fragments have been extensively utilized for the manufacture of the best quality of lime. The quantity of this export seems almost inexhaustible.

Iron is found in different parts of the county in the tertiary deposits. It is the opinion of Professor Dana that this iron was dissolved out of limestone formations, and deposited in the beds where it is found. The smelting of the ore was commenced here long since, and it has been continued to the present time. The ores found here vary in richness, but generally yield about 45 per cent. of the metal. Many mines have been opened and worked in different parts of the county, and the quantity of ore found here may be a productive source of wealth for many years to come.

Stratite of various degrees of purity has been quarried to some extent in different parts of the county.

Quartz rock abounds in New England, and in this county it is found in such purity as to be available for the manufacture of excellent qualities of glass. The beds of sand, which is composed of this rock disintegrated, that furnish the material for the glass which is manufactured here, are found in several localities, and glass works have long existed here.

There are deposits of clay in many parts of the county. From this large quantities of bricks, some of them of a superior quality, are manufactured. Clay of a superior quality is mined in large quantities for the manufacture of fine pottery, and for other purposes to which it is adapted.

In addition to these deposits which have been thus profitably utilized, the following mineral species exist in Berkshire county. They are found in veins and pockets, or imbedded in the rock. The list was furnished by Mr. Daniel Clark, of Tyringham, and a large proportion of the minerals named were found by him in that town.





Dogtooth spar. Oxide of titanium or rutile. Alum in aluminiferous rock. Sulphuret of lead or galena. Black oxide of manganese. Emery. Galena in dolomite. Gold (auriferous) has been found in the mountains near the line of New York.

Agate composed of jasper.

Argillaceous concretions or clay stones of light drab color in form of disks and spheres.

Tourmaline, straw yellow color. Manganese dendritic penetrating quartz rock.

Pearl spar, a dolomite. Kyanite, a silicate of alumina.

Smoky quartz.

Phosphate of lime or apatite. Graphite or carbonate of iron. Lime epidote or zoisite. Green tourmaline with calc spar. Soapstone. Talc is found in veins. Nickel in small quantity.

White pyroxene or diopside. Specular iron.

Bladed tremolite, fibrous tremolite, quartz crystals in dolomite, magnetite in small veins traversing mica slate rock.

Hydrate of alumina or gibbsite.

Aragonite in trimetric crystals, pargasite black crystals, rose quartz, orthoclase in monoclinic crystals. Moonstone or opalescent feldspar. Gold and silver in small quantity at the Cleaveland mine.

Scapolite, pink calcite, black tourmaline.

Ferruginous quartz, zoisite, red oxide of titanium in dolomite.

Allophane, deweylite.

Graphic granite.

Rutile in lime rock, kaolinite, chalcopyrite or copper pyrite, alum slate.

Iron pyrites in lime rock. It is mined and shipped to Boston for the manufacture of sulphuric acid.

Cubes of pyrite in chlorite schist, polybasite, a double sulphuret found in drift. Earthy manganese or wad. Fine dendritic crystallizations of manganese in laminated quartz. Brown iron stone is found among drift in pebbles and boulders. Numerous species of acid or oxide of silicum have been found of vitreous rock crystal and small groups of quartz crystals. Of common quartz, which offers such variety in external aspect, may be mentioned hacked quartz, cellular quartz, ferruginous quartz, smoky quartz, irised quartz, green chlorite quartz, quartz cavities after spodumene, silicified wood. Of cryptoergystalline varieties, carnelian, agate, brown jasper, yellow jasper, red jasper, black jasper, hornstone, chert. Of the silicates of several bases are the zeolitic substances—chabazite in groups of primitive rhombs, orthorhombic thomsonite. The needle stone of Werner. The Harringtonite in implanted globules of yellow color. The laumontite—a monoclinic zeolite—subject to decomposition by exposure to the air, silicified smoky redon spheerostilbite in radiated spheres—color white. Among the feldspathic group may be found orthoclase both white and pink color, small triclinic crys-



tals of albite, neerite (feldspar). Monoclinic pyroxene of dark green color, light green sahlite. Augite in rough crystals, fibrous pyroxene, white crystallizations of spodumene. Petalite in which lithia was first discovered in truncated crystals. Of amphibolic species lanceolar and fibrous hornblend, dark green. Pargasite, black. Cummingsite, asbestos. Of the scapolite group tetragonal wernerite—often modified by truncation. Nuttallite presenting an oily aspect, elobergite in masses and slightly fibrous. Of micaceous substances muscovite monoclinic and broad plates of dark green color, also silver white and black colors. Garnets in small dodecahedrons. Of the titanites, sphene—a silico—titanite of light brown color. Menacaulite occurs massive in gneiss rock, ilmenite in quartz veins. Washingtonite large tabular crystals in quartz drift. Of carbonates calc spar of white and purple colors. Agaric mineral, rock milk, in fissures of lime rock. Graphite in quartz which indicates that vegetable life existed when these rocks were formed. Serpentine.

Limonite, this occurs massive, often stalactic—botryoidal or mammillary forms with nearly black and shining surface, irised—rare, lepidocrocite—rare, sometimes micaceous—gothite, and velvety the psilomelane. Ores of manganese pyrolucite, psilomelane. There are large deposits of limonite ores in many of the towns. Much of this has been smelted in the county and large quantities shipped to other localities.





## CHAPTER II.

### TOPOGRAPHY.

BY J. E. A. SMITH.

**B**ERKSHIRE, the extreme western county of Massachusetts, has a wide fame for the exquisite beauty of its natural scenery, for the product of its mines and quarries, for its manufactures, and for the influence some of its citizens and inhabitants have had on the manufactures and agriculture of the whole country, and also for the great number of eminent divines, scholars, statesmen, soldiers, and men of letters who have had their birth-place or homes in it. Its part in the French and Indian wars was important, and within a few years, its grand share in the war of the Revolution has been dragged from its comparative obscurity, and the more recent of the best historians heartily recognize it.

There are few counties in the country which have so proud a record as Berkshire in any of these particulars; hardly one, if there is one, which equals it in all. Some of these points of excellence are obviously due to the physical geography of the county, and it will be found equally true that others are derived from a combination of the results of physical geography and its geographical position. A description of these is, therefore, the natural foundation of the history of the county.

Berkshire is bounded on the north, for fourteen miles, by Bennington county, Vermont. The town of Monroe, in Franklin county, Massachusetts, juts into its northeastern boundary, and adjoins it for about four miles at this point on the north. The southern line of the county runs for about twenty-four miles along the northern boundary of Litchfield county, Connecticut. The western boundary of the State and county, dividing it from New York, is almost exactly 30 miles long. The counties of Hampshire, Hampden, and Franklin lie next east of Berkshire, and the dividing line is very irregular in its outlines; but the average breadth of the county is about 28 miles. In area it has about 650 square miles. In what manner, and for what reasons, good or bad, these boundaries were fixed as they were, we tell elsewhere. This outline of them is given here, as an essential preliminary to the proper understanding of the



physical geography of the region, and because it shows the frontier character of Berkshire, which has no small influence upon it now, but which gave the whole tone to its earliest story.

The territory thus defined has also a remarkable physical formation. Professor Guyot, the geographer, as quoted by Palfrey, the historian, considers the great inland topographical feature of New England to be a double belt of highlands, separated by the deep and broad valley of the Connecticut. He regards these belts, not simply as two ranges of hills.

"They are vast swells of land, with an average elevation of a thousand feet above the level of the sea, with an average width of fifty miles, from which, as a base, mountains rise in chains, or in isolated groups, to an altitude of sometimes several thousand feet more. The western belt, which bears the general name of the Green Mountains, is composed of two principal chains, with several smaller ones which run along them. Between the principal chains a longitudinal valley can be traced, although with some interruptions, from Connecticut to Northern Vermont."

Perhaps a more accurate statement would have been a chain of valleys; for although they clearly belong to the same system, they are distinctly divided from each other by ridges, which turn the streams in opposite directions.

"The mountains have a regular increase in elevation from a height of less than a thousand feet in Connecticut, to two thousand five hundred feet in Massachusetts, where the majestic Greylock lifts its head to the stature of three thousand five hundred feet."

The increase continues still further in Vermont, until, at the northern extremity of the Green Hills, Mansfield Mountain reaches a height of 4,400 feet.

"The rise of the valley is less regular. In Connecticut its bottom is from five hundred to seven hundred feet above the sea level. In Southern Massachusetts it is eight hundred feet. It rises thence two hundred feet, to Pittsfield, and one hundred more to the foot of Greylock, whence it descends to an average height of a little more than five hundred feet in Vermont. Thus it is in Berkshire county that the western swell presents, if not the most elevated peaks, the most compact and consolidated structure."

The facts thus stated by Professor Guyot clearly designate Berkshire as the summit county of the Green Mountains, and also, together with others of a local character which we must present more in detail, give it a marked individuality.

The grand Berkshire valley, divided and subdivided as it may be, is enclosed in mountain walls which make it one. And this valley, with the adjoining hillsides and mountain tops, mostly within the barriers of which they form a part, comprises the territory of the county. The mountain range along which its eastern boundary runs is the Hoosac. Its highest peak, specifically known as the Hoosac Mountain, has become





world-famous by the boring through it of the Hoosac Tunnel. Long before the tunnel was dreamed of it was famed for the grandeur of the views from the highway which crossed it. In still earlier days the inhabitants of the Connecticut valley looked to it with dread; for notwithstanding its height, from it descended upon their homes the savage warriors of Canada. It lies in North Adams and Florida, and rises about 2,000 feet above the neighboring valley, or 2,600 above the sea level. The next highest is French Hill in Peru, 2,430 feet above the level of the sea, but probably not more than 1,400 above the valley at its base. The range decreases in height toward the south, and its summits have an average height of 1,600 feet. The traveller over the Boston and Albany Railroad will not be disposed to question the statement of the geographer, that "the space between this range and the Connecticut River is mostly occupied by a rugged table-land, 1,000 or 1,500 feet in height." Some portions of this territory have been, however, found rich in rare minerals, and there are several towns with valuable water powers, or much good farming land, as farming land goes in New England. The massive knobs and table-lands which compose the Hoosac Range, are divided by transverse valleys, but generally of little depth. The adamantine rocks which underlie the thin soil are not so rapidly worn into furrows as the softer material of the Taconics. How unbroken is the barrier which the Hoosacs interpose between Berkshire and the rest of Massachusetts, is shown by the fact that the Boston and Albany Railroad is obliged to almost double upon its course to enter the valley, over a valley summit whose original elevation was 1,478 feet above tide-water at Albany; the ascent of the twenty-five miles between Westfield and Washington being 1,241 feet of which \$37 are surmounted in the last 12½ miles by a grade which, for a short distance at one point, is eighty feet to a mile. It was \$2.18 before grading. It is claimed that there are lower grades farther south; but the alleged difference is too slight to affect our illustration. The fact remains that the Hoosac Mountains were a formidable barrier to communication between the northern border of Massachusetts and the rest of the State; not an unsurmountable one, by any means, but quite sufficient to turn the tide of trade in other directions.

The western boundary of the county, and of the State, lies along the Taconic Mountains, although it is not, as is frequently said, coincident with that of their summits, owing to the curvilinear course of the range and its tendency at the north toward the west, while the boundary, which is a straight line, diverges twelve miles eastward. This line crosses Mount Washington near the western base, and runs west of several of its southern summits, and nearly upon the line of others. About eight miles after reaching the long and narrow town of Hancock the Taconics divide. That portion which is usually considered the main range, runs almost directly north until it terminates abruptly with the high hill in South Williamstown, known as East Mountain. The town and valley of Hancock lie east of its summits. The other ridge runs west of the Hancock valley, and



mostly in New York--while it borders that town--but north of it bends to the east, and on the west of Williamstown the boundary is nearly upon its summits. Berlin Mountain, the highest peak in this range, has an altitude of about 2,100 feet above the village of Williamstown, or 2,800 feet above the sea level. The highest elevation in the main range is Mount Washington, a huge, uplifted mass, occupying the southwest corner of the county. It has several summits, the highest of which, "The Dome of the Taconics," rises 2,624 feet above the level of the sea. When President Hitchcock, while Edward Everett was governor, made the geological survey of the State he renamed this summit as Mount Everett. Catharine Sedgwick, and others of like character, made an indignant protest against the change, and in literature it remains "The Dome," although on the maps it is generally Mount Everett. The Taconic summit next in height is Perry's Peak, in Richmond, 2,077 feet above the sea level, or 1,700 feet above the neighboring valley. Both "The Dome" and Perry's Peak command magnificent over views, which are at least not surpassed by those from Greylock.

The average width of the Taconic Mountains, from their eastern to their western bases, is about five miles, and there are several points between the peaks where the highways find a not exceedingly difficult passage, although it is generally necessary to surmount a grade, sometimes steep, of several hundred feet. In fair weather, when the road is in good condition, a pleasant drive of an hour or two will carry the traveller, or the party, with good horses, across most of them. But, in addition to these, the Taconics are broken through at one point, and practically at two, by passes with a very slight grade. In the northwest corner of West Stockbridge, a little south of midway between the northern and southern extremities of the boundary line, the Boston and Albany Railroad, by the aid of an inconsiderable tunnel in the adjoining town of Canaan, N. Y., passes through the range with a grade of only 120 feet above that of its road bed in Pittsfield. This pass, before the days of railroads, was the gateway through which the commerce of Berkshire with the city and State of New York chiefly passed. Although the stage routes and much passenger travel were over the steeper highway, trains heavily loaded with country produce going to, or merchandise coming from the sloops and steamers which plied upon the Hudson, almost invariably took the level road, even when it was less the direct.

The contrast between the broad, rugged, and almost unbroken wall by which the Hoosacs separate Berkshire from the rest of the Commonwealth, with the thin barrier by which the narrow Taconics, with their convenient, although infrequent passes, divide it from New York, will strike every reader.

The line between Berkshire and Vermont is marked by rude and massive mountains, the highest, "Bald Mountain," in Williamstown and Clarksburg, being 2,270 feet high. Still, they are so separated as to afford along this short boundary, roads of moderate grade. The valley







through which the North Branch of the Hoosac enters Clarkstown, leads into a good section; but the grand pass is that of the main Hoosac River, whose course has already been described. It affords an easy passage both to Vermont and the west. It was earliest known as an Indian war-path, but was of interest in after wars. Through it the Berkshire militia and the Connecticut commissioners went to join Ethan Allen in the capture of Ticonderoga, and it enabled the men of the county to reach the battle field of Bennington speedily. Over it a portion of Burgoyne's captive army marched to Boston, and in many ways it has long been noted.

The Connecticut boundary is also mountainous in part, but the hills which open gracefully to let the Housatonic River pass through, as courteously afford abundant space for highways and railroads, while at other points there is easy communication between the county and Connecticut, which added no little to the safety of the early settlements in Southern Berkshire. Berkshire is thus bounded on three sides by States with which she has easier natural intercommunication than with the adjoining counties in the commonwealth of which she forms a part. Railroads have greatly modified this peculiar border position, but in a limited degree it still exists, and its influence is still apparent. Its early effect upon the settlement of the county, upon its part in several wars, upon its trade and commerce, and upon its political, social, and moral life, were incalculable. It gave to Berkshire a history, in many respects, quite distinct from that of the commonwealth generally, and to its people some elements of character different from those which they brought with them from the Connecticut valley, although it could not greatly affect the substantial New England basis of that character.

The grand valley of Berkshire is a complete whole, distinct from, however it may be connected with, others. The mountains which we have described as enclosing it have an average height of seven or eight hundred feet, and certainly give it well-defined walls. The observer from any considerable elevation at once recognizes this, and admires the perfect architectural proportions which nature has given to the superb amphitheatre. The valley as thus presented, from mountain top to mountain top, has an average, and not very irregular, width of about fourteen miles, and a length of about forty-six. Of course, from base to base, it is much more narrow and irregular.

The spectator descending from his elevated standpoint finds this main valley divided and subdivided into a multitude of minor ones, by spurs thrown off from the external mountain ranges, and by indentations into their mass, as well as by independent chains not much inferior in altitude to the Hoosacs and Taconics, and with one summit which excels any of those we have mentioned.

The most conspicuous feature of the interior topography of Berkshire, and one that has great influence upon others and also upon the history of the county, is the Greylock chain of hills, which divides almost equally



a large portion of the northern section. The early settlers in Central Berkshire saw what looked like a single noble mountain crowning the valley at the north with its grand and graceful double summits. As outlined against the sky these summits bear a strong resemblance to those of a saddle, and, after their matter-of-fact way, they forthwith called it Saddleback Mountain. And this name, which cannot by any possibility be used in poetry, or even in poetic prose, was adopted by the early geographers. It still holds a place in geographies and on some maps. The saddle form is, however, not uncommon among mountains, and there are several saddle or saddle-back mountains in the country, so that the name, besides being unmusical and commonplace, was not even distinctive. It may be noted, too, that saddles are no longer so familiar objects as they were in the days when all traveling, by men or women, from a journey to Boston to a ride to church or a ball, was on horseback. For these reasons, and from our tendency always to use the more brief and striking term, the name of Saddleback has, in local usage and general literature, given place to one of the most poetic and distinctive in the nomenclature of mountains.

Saddleback Mountain—we give it its unrepealed although much disused name—Saddleback Mountain is one grand mass uplifted from the valley and surmounted by several summits. It is six miles long from east to west, and lies at about an equal distance from the Hoosac and Taconic ranges, and about five miles south of the mountains of the Vermont border, from which it is separated by the valley of the Hoosac. Its highest peak\*, which has an altitude of 3,500 feet above the level of the sea, is in the northwest corner of the town of Adams, very near the point which adjoins both North Adams and Williamstown.

Upon the summit of this peak the snows of winter first appear, while all is green or brown below, and here they appear to linger longest in the spring; although they in reality may be preserved later in some hidden dell. The hoary appearance which this gives the mountain head was quickly recognized in the bestowal of the name of "Greylock," now everywhere familiar. "Greylock, cloud-girdled on his mountain throne," the highest summit of Massachusetts, is celebrated in the prose and verse of Catherine Sedgwick, Mrs. Kemble, Holmes, Thoreau, Melville, and a host of other writers. One of the effects of this poetic and distinctive name, is the wonderful individuality which it gives to the mountain and its fame. Whenever it is heard it is understood to mean this summit and nothing else. We no more think of saying "Mount Greylock," "Greylock Mountain," or "Greylock Peak," than we should write or say "Mr. Shakespeare, or "Mr. Milton." It is simply, grandly, and to Berkshire people fondly, "Greylock."

The twin summit to Greylock is upon the west, and has some two

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\*Here and elsewhere we use the word *peak*, in conformity with local custom, as synonymous with mountain summit, although, strictly speaking, there are no peaks in Berkshire, all its hill tops being rounded.







hundred feet lower altitude, although from Pittsfield and some other points it appears the higher. It is styled Simond's Peak, in honor of Col. Simonds, of Williamstown, a veteran of the French and Indian wars, who, as senior colonel, commanded the Berkshire troops at the battle of Bennington. There are several other summits, one or two of which are notable as commanding fine views, but they do not, except scenographically, affect the geography of the county.

Saddleback Mountain, with all its summits, is, however, only the base of a chain of hills, which, in the form of a triangle, growing lower and more narrow, extends to the center of Pittsfield, where it reaches the vanishing point at Springside. The only notable hills in the chain are Pratt's, St. Luke's, and Prospect, all in the town of Lanesboro. Until it reaches the last named hill, a little south of the center of Lanesboro, the chain presents a formidable barrier to intercourse between the people on its eastern and western sides. In every respect the Greylock range is an important element in the physical geography of Northern Berkshire.

The most important interior mountain range in Southern Berkshire is the Tom Ball chain, a spur thrown off by the Taconics at Alford, which extends between Stockbridge and West Stockbridge, Richmond and Lenox, to Pittsfield, where it terminates with South Mountain, near the middle of the south border of that town. Between Stockbridge and West Stockbridge it is known as Stockbridge Mountain, and as Lenox Mountain between Richmond and Lenox. Its highest points are, Tom Ball in West Stockbridge, Yokun's Seat, the summit of Lenox Mountain, and Mount Osceola which lies in Lenox, Pittsfield, and Richmond. Yokun's Seat, Mount Osceola, and South Mountain are the peaks which, as seen from Pittsfield, form so beautiful a combination in the landscape. The range is broken through, at West Stockbridge, by what is known in New York as Flat Brook, and after it enters Massachusetts as Williams River. It appears on some of the maps as a western branch of the Housatonic River, with which it unites at Van Deusenville, in Great Barrington. The streams which may be accounted branches of the Housatonic are innumerable; they are like the branches of an elm tree. The Tom Ball range at its Pittsfield extremity is, nevertheless, strong enough to compress all north of that point into one volume.

Of the isolated hills the most interesting is Monument Mountain, which lies on the northern border of Great Barrington, and extends a little into Stockbridge. Bryant's poem of the name has made it known wherever English poetry is read. However fanciful the legend of the poem may be, the description of the mountain is sufficiently precise to command the approbation of the most fanciful pre-Raphaelite. The White Cliffs are of compact granular quartz, the same rock which, when disintegrated at various points in the northern part of the county, forms the silicious sand of commerce, from which glass is made. An immense pile of blocks of this rock lies at the base of these cliffs, from which they have been reft in the course of ages.



From the mountains of the county to the valleys, and the water courses which are governed by them, is a sharp but natural transition. In Berkshire, the peculiarities of its mountain ranges create several diverse water sheds. In the northeast corner the brooks flow into the Deerfield River, which forms the very winding border of the town of Florida. The Westfield River rises near the center of Savoy, and some of its branches in Windsor, Peru, Washington, and Becket. The Peru meeting house is so exactly on one of the summits that the rain drops which fall upon one side of its roof contribute to the Westfield, and those on the other to the Housatonic. The eastern water sheds on the eastern declivities of the Hoosac range continue for so short a space in this county, that, interesting as they may be otherwise, they can have little effect upon its manufactures. It is far otherwise with that which in the south part of the range, feeds the Farmington River. This river rises in the southwestern corner of Becket, and, for a distance of about fifteen miles, within or upon the border of the county, runs in a direction a little east of south, through Otis and along the eastern boundary of the large town of Sandisfield, until it reaches Colebrook, in Connecticut. It descends rapidly over a rocky bed, through a region of great natural beauty, and rich in natural resources, in a moderately direct course, although not entirely without the curves which never fail a Berkshire brook, unless it dashes, like a waterfall, straight down a mountain side. All along the Farmington River in Berkshire, and often upon its tributary streams, there are opportunities for making use of its power for turning the wheels of large factories. In addition to this, in the town of Otis, there are lakes which rival in area those in Pittsfield, and which act as reservoirs for the supply of the river, the largest, with which the others communicate, having been artificially enlarged for that purpose. For lack of railroad facilities all this power is unused in Massachusetts, and only aids manufacturers in Connecticut, adding to the wealth of that State. With the communication with markets which other portions of Berkshire has, the valley of the Farmington River would be one of its richest sections.

The water sheds which tend out of the county from the western declivities of the Taconic range are of small consequence. Kinderhook, or Stephentown Creek, which rises in the northern part of Hancock, furnishes some good water power in that town, and runs to the Hudson at Kinderhook. A small stream issues from Berry Pond, a little lakelet on the summit of the mountain, and joins the Wyomannock in New Lebanon.\*

The water sheds which feed the rivers to which the county wholly owes its manufacturing prosperity, and their branches, are divided longitudinally by the Greylock range and transversely by the valley summits which lie upon its eastern and western sides. In Lanesboro, near the

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\*Pash Falls, two hundred feet high, with their picturesque gorge and dizzy cliffs, give wide and much admiration to a brook which dashes down the west side of Mt. Washington to Copake River, and has much volume for a mountain brook.







eastern corner of Pittsfield, are the Partridge meadows, filled with springs which bubble up, side by side, to send their waters, some into the Hoosac River, and some into the Housatonic; the direction, of course, being governed by natural laws, but apparently by mere chance. From this fountain head the Hoosac flows north, sluggishly, until it has passed the center of Cheshire. Thence, with volume increased by the large reservoir in that town, and by the incoming tributary streams, it dashes more impetuously through the northern part of Cheshire, and the towns of Adams and North Adams, to a point near the middle of the north line of the latter. Here it receives a branch from the northeast, which furnishes some of the best water power in the town, and is otherwise notable. At this point it also bends abruptly to the west, and continues almost in a direct line along the northern base of the Greylock range, until it reaches Williamstown. There it crosses the northeastern corner of that town, with a sharp turn to the northwest, at the middle of its north line, and breaks through the rugged mountains of the Vermont boundary. It then crosses the southwestern corner of Vermont, finds a pass through the Taconics some five miles north of the Massachusetts line, and, after crossing a portion of New York, joins the Hudson at Schaghticoke.

The valley summit on the western side of the Greylock range is near the southern boundary of New Ashford, from which a streamlet descends until, in South Williamstown, it joins the Green River, which runs northeasterly until it unites with the Hoosac in Williamstown. These streams, with their valleys, have had great influence upon the history of the county in the past, and promise to have quite as much upon its future fortunes. In its passage through Adams and North Adams the Hoosac is lined with large manufactures, for which it furnishes power, and which first brought large population and wealth to those towns, besides being the seed from which other sources of its prosperity spring. The river also gives water power to mills in Cheshire and Williamstown. The tributary streams which flow from New Ashford and Hancock furnish little water power, but are interesting features in the geography of the section. What is of greater consequence, their valleys, as well as those of the main rivers, afford attractive grades for highways and railroads, and present landscapes of great beauty. But of that we must treat in another connection, after describing the water courses and valleys of the southern and larger portion of the county.

Unkameet Brook, which emanates from the Partridge Meadows, flows south some three miles until it unites with a stream which comes in from the northwest. This stream is formed by two branches which, rising respectively in Windsor and Hinsdale, unite in Dalton. Two large and costly artificial reservoirs have been built near the heads of these branches, and the water power which they and the stream, after their union, afford, has contributed quite as much, to say the least, as any other water possesses, (by name except, in the wealth of Berkshire. In volume and importance it is fairly entitled to be considered the eastern branch of



the Housatonic River, and it is so styled upon several maps. Technically, however, that honor is ascribed to the little Unkanet Brook, because its course coincides with that of the grand valley, or chain of valleys, described by Guyot. The descent of the Dalton River, or northeastern branch of the Housatonic, is sharp, but that of the Unkanet Brook is so slight that a dam four feet high, just below the junction, would turn the waters of both northward through it into the Hoosac. The fountain-head of the western branch of the Housatonic is unmistakably near the southern border of New Ashford, and within a few feet of that of the Hoosac's western branch. Notwithstanding theilly character of the neighboring region, its descent is very gentle until it has passed through Pontoosuc Lake, which lies in Lanesboro and Pittsfield, and also receives from the former town Secomb Brook. The passage of the river out of the lake is marked by a waterfall of thirty feet, the first of the series which extend for three miles, and are occupied by large factories. A mile further south it receives, through Onota Brook, the waters collected in Onota Lake from several Taconic mountain brooks. After a further course of about two miles, Shaker Brook, or the southeastern branch of the Housatonic, comes in, having first been joined by other Taconic streamlets.

Both Pontoosuc and Onota Lakes have been enlarged as reservoirs by costly and massive stone dams, and both Onota and Shaker Brooks furnish power to factories quite as extensive as those on the main stream. This stream, which in early time was, after it left the lake, called the Pontoosuc River, unites with the western branch about two miles north of the southern boundary of Pittsfield, in forming the main body of the Housatonic. "The winding Housatonic," with its multitudinous curves and frequent "ox bows," here commences its course, and runs southward until it reaches South Lee. Then it turns abruptly to the west, through Stockbridge, but passing around Monument Mountain, on the north, resumes its southerly course through Great Barrington and Sheffield. In its course of about thirty miles the Housatonic receives, before it leaves the county, many tributary streams and brooks. Roaring Brook and Yokun River enter it at Lenox, Hop Brook from Tyringham, and May Brook, which runs through East Lee from Lake May, joins it in Lee. Williams River joins it in the north part of Great Barrington, and Green River, rendered famous by the verse of Bryant, near the southern border of the same town. Konkapot Brook, which has its head in Monterey, and joins the Housatonic near the village of Stockbridge, is chiefly notable for the fact that the friendly Indian chieftain from whom it takes its name had his home a few rods north of it. Konkapot River, whose source is not far from that of the brook, runs southward through New Marlboro, for a little space beyond the Connecticut line, but by westward curves, shortly rejoins it, and joins the Housatonic near the southern border of Sheffield. The number of water privileges on this stream, give it, in New Marlboro, the name of Mill River, and it







is a singular fact that, at Ashley Falls, near its junction with the Housatonic, and very near the spot where the settlement of the county began, is the only good water power in Berkshire, with convenient railroad facilities, which is not fully occupied, while most of them are reinforced by artificial reservoirs and steam. In early times it was the site of Ashley's water works.

The Housatonic River, in its course of some thirty miles before it leaves Berkshire, presents, with its branches and tributaries, a remarkable alternation of wealth-bringing rapid descents and equally wealth-giving streams winding leisurely with infinite grace through rich and level meadows. The branches which come in through Dalton are largely a succession of waterfalls; that which flows through Lanesboro is a meadow brook. In the northern part of Pittsfield the two intermingle. In the south part, for some two miles, and about three in the north part of Lenox, the river exhibits some of its most graceful curves; but just above Lenox Furnace a succession of falls continues through Lee, Stockbridge, and Great Barrington, and affords water power for many manufactories, several of which have a national fame. The stream whose two branches find their respective sources in Green Water Pond, in West Becket, and Lake May, in East Lee, and which enters the Housatonic near the center of the town of Lee, is especially rich in water power during its entire course through that town. Everywhere in the valleys of the Housatonic there is a marvellous mingling of the useful and the beautiful. Sometimes we are apt to say the beautiful predominates and sometimes that the useful prevails. Then we remember that in Berkshire the beautiful, in all its varied forms, is everywhere; the useful is conspicuously manifest only in limited location. But remember, also, that the beautiful is also useful by the mere fact of its beauty; and remember still further, that every rounded mountain top, every flower-bordered valley, every dallying streamlet curve, every springlet that gurgles up to refresh both the eye and the lip of the traveler, every lakelet that from its mountain height smiles to the sky or sparkles among the valleys; all combine to give vigor to the waterfalls which drive the machinery whose products have no mean part in the commerce of the world. The shriek of the locomotive, heard upon the height of Greylock or the Dome of the Taconics, reminds the listener that the barriers which once cut off this inland valley from the markets of the world have been broken down and many a flourishing village tells him that its people are busy in supplying their demands, or are enriched by denizens who divide their lives between the labors and excitements of city marts and the calm pleasures of their Berkshire homes.

Still we cannot but perceive that the prevailing element in Berkshire is its beauty; beauty of mountain and valley, of lake and stream, of sky and earth; beauty ever present and ever varying. The poetic war governor of the commonwealth, John A. Andrew, spoke of "the delicious surprises" of Berkshire rides, and every man and woman who drives



through its roads recognizes how happy the phrase is. Dr. Holmes, in his poem at the dedication of the Pittsfield Cemetery, apostrophising the spirit of beauty, says:

- " Spirit of Beauty ! Let thy graces blend  
 With loveliest nature all that art can lend.  
 Come from the bowers where Summer's life blood flows  
 Through the red lips of June's half open rose,  
 Dressed in bright hues, the loving sunshade's dower,  
 For tranquil nature owns no mourning flower,
- " Come from the forest where the lac'd's screen  
 Bars the fierce noonbeam with it flakes of green  
 Stay the rude axe that bares the shadowy plains,  
 Stanch the deep wound that drils the maple's veins.
- " Come with the stream whose silver braided rills  
 Fling their unclasping bracelets from the hills.  
 Till in one gleam, beneath the forest's wings,  
 Melts the white glitter of a hundred springs.
- " Come from the steep where look majestic forth  
 From their twin thrones the giants of the North  
 On the huge shapes, that, crouching at their knees,  
 Stretch their broad shoulders, rough with shaggy trees.  
 Through the wide waste of ether, not in vain,  
 Their softened gaze shall reach our distant plain:  
 There, while the mourner turns his aching eyes  
 On the blue mounds that print the blue skies,  
 Nature shall whisper that the fading view  
 Of mightiest grief may wear a heavenly blue."

And this brings us to the further point that Berkshire, the mountain county of the State, and that which surpasses all the others in the multitude and beauty of its streams, is also a lake county. Within its borders there are a hundred lakelets, each of considerable area. Some of moderate size, like Lake Ashley in Washington, and Berry Pond on the Taconic summit in Hancock, lie upon the mountain-tops, and are almost entirely fed by springs, having a very slight water shed. Formerly held of small account, these mountain lakes, where favorably situated, are now held as of almost priceless worth in supplying the water-works of the growing valley villages below them, their water being generally very pure, while that of the village wells, even when not impregnated with deliterious minerals, is insufficient for the demands made upon it in thriving communities: especially in those in which it is needed for fountains and other ornamental purposes, for the supply of steam boilers, for power in elevators and like purposes.

Few of the smaller lakelets lie north of Pittsfield, and none of the larger, except Pontoosuc Lake, of which more than half is in Lanesboro. The towns most liberally endowed with lakes and ponds are Pittsfield, Stockbridge, and Otis, each of which has five, wholly or in part within its limits. Many of the smaller lakelets are gems in the scenery of the county. Almost all of any size are beautiful objects in their part of the





larger, those most noted for their beauty are Lake Mahkenac in Stockbridge, Pontoosuc Lake in Lanesboro and Pittsfield, Lake Onota in Pittsfield, and Lake Buel in Monterey and New Marlboro, near the southeastern corner of Great Barrington. Great Lake and Rand's Pond in Otis, may be added to the list when they get railroad communication and more distinctive names. They are already the favorites with sportsmen.

The aboriginal fish which swam in the lakes and streams of what is now Berkshire, and furnished food for the aboriginal inhabitants and early settlers, were, as stated by Professor Dewey, in 1829, "the sucker, common in the large streams, the trout, not abundant, the perch, dace, bull head, flat fish, red fish, or 'shiner,' eels, &c., common." The sucker is a large fish, nutritious and palatable in its season, although not exactly craved by epicures. The same may be said of the fresh water eel. Both were easily speared and would have probably been welcomed upon the aboriginal table, if such a thing there had been, at any season. The bull head is still highly prized, and the perch not rejected. Pickerel were introduced into Lake Onota by Linus Parker, a noted sportsman, about 1810, from Lake Mahkenac, to which they had been brought from Connecticut a few years before. They spread through all the lakes and large streams of the county rapidly, and their voracious appetite has traditionally the credit, or discredit, of having had a large share in almost exterminating the trout from those waters, and greatly diminishing them in the mountain rivulets, which the pickerel rarely, if ever, ascend.

During the fifteen or twenty years preceding 1880, Lakes Mahkenac, Onota, Pontoosuc, and Buell were successfully stocked with land-locked salmon, lake trout, salmon trout, Oswego, lake, and black bass, and English carp, although all these varieties were not placed in each lake. Local sportsmen consider some of these varieties like tares sown among wheat; in particular the black or "goggled eyed bass," which is said to be greedily devouring the spawn and the young of the more valuable fish.

Professor Dewey speaks of the bear, the deer, and the wolf as neither uncommon nor abundant at the time of the early settlements. He was the most eminent naturalist which Berkshire has ever given to the world of science. Many years of ardent and loving labor made him more familiar with all branches of the county's natural history than any other has become by personal investigation. His authority is of great weight; still, his denial of the abundance of trout and deer at the time of the settlement of the county may be well questioned. There is sufficient evidence to prove that Central Berkshire, at least, rivalled the Adirondack region of to day in the number of trout in its lakes and streams, as well as of the deer on its hills and in its valleys.

Wolves did not appear in hungry packs as in some regions, but they were numerous enough to demand liberal bounties for their slaughter, almost to the beginning of the 19th century, and at an earlier date to call for all the heroism of a Pittsfield woman left alone in her house, to de-



send it against their night attacks. The wild cats were in sufficient numbers to be a terror to the sheepfolds, and they have not yet been entirely exterminated. Foxes, beaver, otter, and muskrats were shot or trapped to an extent that created a considerable trade in their peltry. Rabbits and woodchucks, grey, red, black, and striped squirrels were multitudinous, and raccoons not very rare, although the ease with which they were hunted soon made them so. The wild turkey, at first plentiful, retired as usual before the advance of civilization; but the black duck on the surface of the lakes still attracts the fowler. The partridge was frequent in the woods, clouds of wild pigeons in their season alighted upon the lower hill tops, the wild goose, bewildered in its flight, sometimes sought a resting place in the valley.

Of reptiles, the most notable was that terror of the field, the rattlesnake, of which the black, yellow, and spotted varieties were common in the south part of the county, although they were not known in the north. There is, however, hardly an instance preserved, even in tradition, of a fatal result of their bite. The only other venomous snake in the country was the spotted or milk adder, which was rare. The black snake, at first rather common, soon became rare.

We have not attempted here even a sketch of the natural history of Berkshire, but only enumerated the most important beasts, birds, reptiles, and fishes which affected the lives of the earliest inhabitants, either as supplying food or clothing, as objects of traffic, or as pests. The early settlers were certainly annoyed by wolves, bears, wild cats, and foxes, which preyed upon their barn yards and sheep folds; and they hunted a rattlesnake; but not much more than the farmer of to-day, who is annoyed by roving dogs, tramps, and petty thieves, hates them. Some use could be made of the early pests after they were once killed; even some portions of the rattlesnake were held to be medicinal.

The settlers were very practical people, and they considered what ever earth, air, or water gave them for the mere killing as a valuable addition to their stock of food, provided only that it was cleanly. But nowhere in the county or State did they regard game as the article of luxury which it is now considered; partly, perhaps, because it was so common, but not improbably, partly also, because their cooking was not adapted to bringing out its best flavor. Time, also, had a high value with them, and if they had given up a day's farmwork for it, moose, venison or partridges might have been practically as costly to them as they are to the epicure of to-day. If they came in their way, very well; otherwise, pork and beans, succotash, and like substantial food was more economical, as well as highly relished. The early farmers were hard-working, practical, and economical men, as a rule. The aborigines, until they were taught it by civilization, were not so fastidious as to cleanliness in their eating. No bird, beast, fish or reptile, and hardly any part of either of them was unclean to these simple children of the forest. From the partridge to the owl, from the hannah of the forest to the outfall







of the partridge, all was equally food to their hungry stomachs, although it cannot be supposed that all were equally agreeable to their palates; they ate turtle like an alderman, and crow like a politician. The naturalist will tell you that the range of this menu was wide; and that besides those we have mentioned, there were some curious and interesting fishes and animals, an infinite variety of insects, frequently of gorgeous colors, but as a rule only a swarm of torments, or of destruction to vegetation; but as an atonement for these, there were hundreds of birds, from the eagle, which sometimes made its nest on the mountain-tops, to the humming-birds which probably then revelled among the wild flowers and blossoms, as a dozen varieties, of fairy form, glittering and gleaming in all their tiny, iridescent glory, will now visit your garden of a summer afternoon, and rival as well as rifle your choicest flowers. There are probably few of the inhabitants of the county who know the fact that more than a hundred different varieties of birds either have their home in the county or visit it for a considerable space during the year. Most of these are distinguished for grace of form, or for their plumage, sometimes brilliantly, often delicately, and always in some sort beautiful. You will admire all these feathered wonders for their form, color, or song, because you can do so comfortably. The hungry Indian would have eaten them all, simply because he was hungry and there was no other available food at hand. Few Berkshire birds are harmful to man, his fields, or his poultry yard; but it has taken a long course of insect scourging to teach that lesson imperfectly. Farmers still shoot insectivorous birds, and the feathered songsters seek the shelter of the villages, where, to be sure, it takes no little trouble to prevent their getting more than a fair share of the strawberries and cherries; they present their bills so promptly.

The geology of the county, both scientific and practical, is a subject too great and to intricate to be properly treated here. It is sufficient for the purpose of illustrating its resources, to speak in general terms of the mineral deposits which have contributed to its wealth. The chief of them are iron ore, marble, limestone, and granular quartz. The earliest settlers found immense quantities of iron ore, in masses of from boulders of a ton's weight, to the smallest pebble, spread over the surface of the valley or embedded in its soil. These masses are still found in the Berkshire fields, and rich deposits are known still to exist in the drift of the valley. Beds of the same ore, some of them practically inexhaustible, are scattered through almost the whole county, from Mount Washtogton northward. They belong to the same system and have the same qualities with the famous Salisbury mines in Connecticut, which they now rival in product and reputation. The profusion of the surface boulders made iron the first manufacture in Berkshire, after potash and leather; all beginning soon after the earliest settlement, although in the most primitive fashion. The opening of successive mines, and the substitution of blast furnaces for the forges first employed, increased the business.



The primitive limestone, which, commencing on the Connecticut shore of Long Island Sound, extends to northern Vermont, is continuous through the western side of the Housatonic valley, where it affords many beds of valuable marble, generally white or lightly clouded, but often blue, grey, and dove colored. The blue, grey, and dove colored are perhaps not sufficiently susceptible of polish to be considered true marble; but locally they are more highly prized for many architectural purposes than the white or clouded. The dark blue stone of Great Barrington, of which the Athenæum at Pittsfield is built, and the dove colored from a Sheffield quarry, which forms the basement walls of the court house, built of white marble from the same locality, are especially admired. The white, however, is most in demand in the great markets, where it has long stood foremost among the marbles of the country. The greater part of the National Capitol is of white marble from *Lee* quarries. Long ago the material for the New York City Hall was taken from a quarry at West Stockbridge. The Sheffield quarry, which furnished the white marble for the Berkshire County Court House, did the same for the completion of the National Monument at Washington. In earlier times the white marble quarries of Lanesboro, Pittsfield, Richmond, and New Ashford were worked to the no small advantage of those towns and the emolument of the quarry men; but the easy and cheap transportation which the railroads have brought to the southern quarries, have rendered it impossible for the northern to compete with them until they obtain the same facilities. It costs more to draw blocks of the size last required of the Pittsfield quarries for use in Philadelphia, to the railroad depot in that town, than it did to transport them from the depot to Philadelphia; more also than it would cost to carry blocks of the same dimensions from the heart of the *Lee*, West Stockbridge and Sheffield quarries to the city of New York. The southern quarries are, however, sufficient to supply the present demand, and the others can bide their time.

On the eastern side of the valley marble crops out in several towns from a bed not so wide as the other, which extends from North Adams to New Marlboro. The white marble in this bed, like most of the white marbles in Berkshire, is a dolomite, more highly crystalline, with a coarser granulation and greater hardness than on the east. At the Natural Bridge, a little south of the Clarksburg line, and about a mile from North Adams village, this formation has a more superb exhibition than any other of marble which we know. The bridge itself is one of the most curious and beautiful works of nature in the State, and one which has recorded its own history far ages, more clearly than any other. At this point Hudson's Brook, which comes in from the northwest, just before its junction with the north branch of the Hoosac, has worn a channel thirty yards long and fifteen feet wide, which, gradually sinking, has left a chasm in the marble, with cliffs on each side, sometimes more than sixty feet high. All over their surface these cliffs are fretted with innumerable rounded indentions, mostly circular, and of moderate depth.







Sometimes they take more grotesque shapes, the most curious resembling a section of an inverted dinner pot. These are generally near the present level of the brook, and large enough to make a niche in which the visitor can ensconce himself comfortably, while he contemplates the marvels of nature about him. But the best point of view is from the middle of the brook, which is easily fordable at most seasons, and at the lower part of its transit through the gorge. Looking up from this wet and slippery standpoint, you will see the chasm spanned at the height of fifty feet by an arch of what is really pure white marble, although vegetation and the elements have somewhat obscured its splendor. Above this, with an interval of some ten feet intervening, was originally another bridge, the ruins of which still remain, but which was broken by quarrymen before the early æstheticism of the region could interrupt the vandalism which had begun to transform it into material for tombstones. The view of the whole structure—chasm and bridge—is still strikingly beautiful, as well as of curious interest. It is apparent that, far off in the ages, the brook leaped over a precipice at the southern terminus of the ledge in a water-fall which, if it still existed, would yearly attract thousands of admiring eyes. The charm of the natural bridge and chasm no less deserve such admiration, but rather more. And they would receive it, if a foot bridge were constructed from which the view could be conveniently seen by ladies. Parties of tourists, or excursionists, from which ladies are excluded, are in Berkshire apt to be of small numbers; a solitary Thoreau, or enthusiasts following his footsteps, in couples. We have introduced this description here, to show the inexhaustible amount of beautiful stone stored at a point where it was easily observable by the earliest explorers.

A rock whose value in the economic geology of the county ranks quite as high as that of marble, or iron ore, is the quartz which is found throughout its entire length, sometimes in veins, sometimes in beds, and sometimes comprising the mass of large hills. It is a very interesting rock to geologists, and is found in several varieties. It is often of the vitreous, milky white variety, of almost pure silica, as in the veins which intersect the Taconic slate at frequent intervals. Sometimes these veins, and masses of the same rock, are gold bearing, but not to an extent to tempt the shrewd, practical gold seeker; although it has sometimes deluded those of less experience, the presence of the sulphurets or sulphates of iron sometimes, although not always, aiding the delusion. The chief difficulty has been found in the fact that veins which near the surface afford a rich proportion of the precious metal suddenly terminate in what are technically known as "faults." There can be no doubt that gold is intermingled in considerable quantities with some of the quartz and other rocks of the county. This has been proved by analysis of rocks in Sheffield, Pittsfield, and elsewhere. We personally found in a little more than a tablespoonful of the debris brought up in boring the first Artesian well of the Carson paper mill, at Dalton, a percentage of pure gold.



which would rival that of any gold bearing quartz in California; but its wealth may not have extended beyond a few inches. Experience in other local veins indicates that the deposit is of limited extent. At any rate, the pure water which springs up from the depths of this well is of more value than its owners could expect from any mining operations. The gold of Berkshire is scattered in diverse and but generally infinitesimal proportions.

The quartz which is of economical value is the granular variety, generally what is geologically called "quartz rock." Of this, President Hitchcock says, Berkshire county contains the principal repository in the State. A very large proportion of this is nearly pure quartz, but much of it is mixed with other minerals. Often it is disseminated in minute particles through marble and other rocks. Of the useful varieties there are three classes. In what was formerly called "Rock Mountain," in Washington, on the borders of Pittsfield, it occurs in a stratified form, which it rarely assumes elsewhere. The rock here is exceedingly hard, so as to almost defy the sculptor's chisel; but the strata, which are sometimes only a few inches, rarely more than twenty, in thickness, are easily separable; hence we find in the Pittsfield Cemetery some old tombstones made of it, on which there is a good deal of graceful tracery. The cutting is very thin, but it changes the color of the rock, and such is its adamantine hardness, that the storms of more than a century have had no perceptible effect upon it. The rock was chiefly used, however, for the hearths and jambs of fire places, for door steps, and like purposes. In later times its cheapness and durability brought it into use for flagging the sidewalks and crosswalks of Pittsfield, but its somewhat uneven cleavage renders it not perfectly adapted to that purpose, and it has fallen into disfavor.

Another variety of the quartz rock, which is of great value, is the fire stone used for the hearths of iron blast furnaces. This is wholly extended, and of the best quality. A quarry in the southeastern part of Great Barrington for many years furnished hearths for furnaces all over the country. It was first worked by John C. Briggs, from which the material took the name of "Briggs stone," and afterward by John Devanny. Owing to close connections with the railroad, a quarry at New Lenox now mostly supplies the market.

All three varieties of granular quartz were very helpful in the early settlement and early business of the county; but they do not contribute to its present wealth as another variety—the siliceous sand of conglomerate. As we have said, granular quartz extends in large quantities through the whole length of the county. Bald Mountain in North Adams and Clarksburg, is the highest hill composed of it. The white cliff of Monument Mountain, in Great Barrington, five hundred feet high, made world-famous by Bryant's poem, is composed of the same substance. We have found small portions of it there disintegrated into sand a little coarser than that of the northern beds. All along the greater portion of the





eastern slope of the Hoosac range, a rock much harder than limestone and apparently perfectly compact, is found and called "flint." But if you give a small piece of it a smart blow with a hammer, or throw a large parcel at a red heat into water, it flies at once into a white sand, often very pure and fine. In the towns of Savoy, Cheshire, Lanesboro, and Lenox, nature has formed extensive beds of this sand by a mysterious process of her own, probably dissolving the felspar, which cemented it, and which it is now necessary to wash out before the sand is consigned to the glass crucible. This sand is extremely beautiful, it being difficult for the eye to distinguish it from the whitest granulated sugar or salt, or indeed from snow. The beds already open are a source of much wealth to the county, and geologists are convinced that others will be found making the supply for glass manufacture practically inexhaustible.

Another rock, of great commercial value, which is being developed, is the steatite or soapstone. This stone is used for a great variety of most important purposes, and is little diffused, as compared with lime, quartz, and iron. The demand for it exceeds the supply. One of the largest quarries in the country is at Middlefield, in Hampshire county, and the same vein extends into Hinsdale and probably other Berkshire towns: the iron ore quartz, marble, and soapstone form the basis of some of the most profitable manufactories of Berkshire, and will be further treated in that connection.

The virgin soil of Berkshire was very rich, and well adapted to the growth of all grains, including wheat. It is nowhere excelled in Massachusetts, except in the interval lands of the Connecticut valley, and by them only in extent. The awards of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society have repeatedly declared that some of the upland farms of Berkshire excel any other in the State. This is a matter of record, although higher cultivation may have made smaller patches in the neighborhood of cities more prolific. There is much poor land in Berkshire as there is everywhere in New England, but there are few sections of Massachusetts more inviting to the early settler.

With all these great and varied natural sources of wealth the question naturally arises, why it was not settled until a hundred years after every other county in the State. We shall address ourselves to that point after giving an account of the aboriginal occupation of the soil.



## CHAPTER III.

### ABORIGINAL OCCUPATION.

WHEN FIRST visited by the white man, what is now Berkshire county was a portion of the territory of the Mahican tribe of Indians, whose possessions originally extended on the west side of the Hudson River from Catskill to an undefined point in the north, and on the east from the southern boundary of Columbia county, until it was lost in the uninhabited forests of the Green Mountains of Vermont; or, as their Dutch discoverers called them, the "Winterberge." This embraced the head waters of the Hudson, Housatonic, and the Connecticut, and the watersheds of Lakes George and Champlain. East and west it extended from Schenectady to the Connecticut.\*

It was all included in the territory afterward claimed by the English Government of New York, although a considerable portion finally fell to Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont.

The Mahican, so far as we know, is the only aboriginal tribe of race, whose early history has been written in English by one of its own members, from the accounts furnished by its appointed chroniclers. The Court of the chieftain had as full and as formal a corps of officers as any English court of justice, and among them were skilled historians, whose duty it was to preserve in their memory the annals of the tribe, report them to its people from time to time, and transmit them through successors trained by themselves. Captain Hendrick Aupamut was, probably not one of these officials; but it is said to have been doubtless he who wrote from their traditions the story which has been handed down to us by Dr. Dwight. Captain Hendrick Aupamut, or, as he in his later life chose to be called, Captain Hendrick, was, without question, the ablest, wisest, truest, and best man whose name appears in the history of his

\*Mr. E. M. Burton, of Newburgh, has published a history of the Indian tribes of the Hudson, which is the result of long and patient study. These researches led him to differ from previous writers in several particulars. In some cases, where he fortified himself strongly by documentary evidence, we have accepted his emendations, as in this case.





people. The early writers cannot speak too highly of his eloquence, his good judgment, his unselfish devotion and purity of character, and his services through an active life of more than fifty years, both to his own race and ours; which he aided greatly in the wars of the Revolution and of 1812, as soldier and diplomatist. His early youth was passed among the Mohawks, and he was probably a son of the great Mohawk chieftain of the same name, who was the son of a Mahican, married to a Mohawk princess, through whom, inheritance descending in the female line, his son became grand sachem of the tribe. After the concentration of the Mahicans at Stockbridge, the younger Hendrick returned to them, through the influence of the mission, at whose school he was educated.

There is nothing improbable in his history of the tribe, except that it represents them as holding to and teaching their children, as of divine origin, all the laws of Christian morals. He avers that "before they enjoyed gospel revelation" they believed in a Supreme Being who dwells above, whom they styled "*Wantheet-Monnitom*, or the Great, Good Spirit," the author of all things in Heaven and on earth, and who governs all events. They had equal faith in the existence of an evil one, called "*Alton-tom*, or the Wicked Spirit, who delights altogether in doing and prompting evil, who incites men to lie, to anger, to fight, hate, steal, murder, to be envious, malicious, and evil talkers, and who also excites nations to war, and to violate the friendship which the Great Spirit has ordained for their own good. That the Mahicans, and most other Indian tribes, did worship, as a Supreme Being, one great and good spirit with an unvarying faith which shames civilization, is beyond doubt; and also that they believed in an Evil Spirit, but the formula given savors more of the Westminster Catechism than of aboriginal theology. The American Indian's faith in a Great, Good Spirit, and in a future life, was, indeed, under his circumstances, grand and touching; but his superstitious fears, the result of a realistic sense that the Evil Spirit was always near him, led him rather to attempt to conciliate the Devil than to fly from or resist him. There are stranger things, however, in this paper, than the mere assertion of faith in a good God and belief in a personal Devil on the part of the Mahicans, before the existence of either was taught them, and we can only accept them as referring to a period in the history of the tribe so remote as to constitute them its mythical story. When the paper was presented to the Indians of the Stockbridge Mission, not only had the most remarkable of the laws and customs which it details passed away, but the traditions of them had been almost obliterated. Still, the paper was evidently written by a native antiquarian, and throws the only light we have upon the early history of the tribe. In the two centuries next preceding its date the Mahican native had passed through wars, vicissitudes, and revolutions enough to have changed the whole constitution of its tribal family life. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to see that the writer's traditional lore was colored and warped by his mission education and his desire that his people should stand well



with his white friends and teachers. We find it difficult to give credence to some of the most startling and, if true, the most important statements. There is, for instance, the account of a code of morals and a custom connected with it, which would provoke incredulity even if ascribed to the cottages of Scotch Covenanters or the log cabins of New England Puritans, instead of the wigwams of Mahican savages. We are told that the head of each family—man or woman—would begin, with all tenderness, as soon as daylight broke, to wake the children and teach them after a form, which, as printed, fills more than an octavo page of bourgeois type.

The children were directed first to remember that the goodness of the Great Spirit had preserved them through the night, and that, if they wished to see many good days and evenings, they must love all men and be kind to all people. Then followed the instructions as to the conduct of life, which we condense:

“Help those in distress. Feed the hungry, for you may be hungry, too. Clothe the naked, even with your own raiment. If you do not have compassion upon and help the poor, you will displease the Great Spirit; you will be called ‘*Uh-wu-theet*,’ the hard hearted, and will be mocked when your own distress comes upon you. Pity and help the aged: it will make their hearts glad and they will speak well of you. If you see your neighbors quarreling, try to make them friends again. [Blessed are the peace makers.] Listen to the aged. Do not hasten to speak when others are talking, nor allow yourself too much laughing. If any speak evil of you speak not evil back again, but shut your ears and mouth, as though you heard nothing, and shun such people. Never quarrel with any person, for quarreling is of the Evil Spirit and beasts; but live in peace with all men, and so please the Great Spirit and you will be happy. Be honest in all your ways. Lie not, lest you bring a bad name upon yourselves; people will point at you with scorn and say, ‘look at that liar!’ Even when you speak the truth, they will not believe you. Steal not; you would not like others to steal from you. If you steal you will disgrace yourself, your parents, and friends, and be despised by all good people. Avoid bad people, but, above all, do not commit murder, because you wish to see long life. If you commit murder, the Great Spirit will be angry with you; your life will be in great danger, and also the lives of your dear relations. Be industrious. Get up early in the morning: put on your clothes and Mucksens (Moccasins) and tie your belt about you, so that you may be ready to do something. By so doing, you will always have something to eat and put on. But if you are lazy you will be always poor and may shamefully beg or steal. Nobody will give you anything to eat without grudging. When you grow up do not take husband or wife without the consent of your parents and all your relations. If you do it may bring great darkness to you. Obey your sachems and chiefs at all times. Never speak evil of them; they have taken great pains in promoting your happiness. If you do not observe this you are worse than the beasts.”







The assertion that a lesson like this was formally taught by the heads of Mahican families to their children every morning at daybreak, and "occasionally repeated to them after they had grown up," passes belief. The Mahicans were undoubtedly a kindly, though warlike people, with higher and purer morals than most aboriginal tribes, and with minds easily inclined to civilization and Christianity. The latter may have been the result of the more just and friendly treatment which they received, both from the Dutch and the English, or it may have been the revival of the long buried germs of their ancestral life. But, however that may be, the virtues taught by the code we have quoted must, many of them, have been foreign both to the belief and practice of their forest life. They possessed others, not mentioned, among which was scrupulous chastity.

But, whatever we may think of this portion of the paper preserved by President Dwight, there is little reason to distrust the account which it gives of the early history of the tribe, which appears to be more accurate than most traditionary lore, probably on account of its transmission through a trained official medium. There is nothing improbable in the story, and we follow its account, which is substantially as follows:

Their ancestors, having crossed the great water at a point in the northwest where the two countries (continents) nearly meet, encountered a famine, as they would have been likely to do at that point. They were compelled to disperse themselves through the wilderness in search of sustenance; that is, we suppose, the bleak region compelled them to betake themselves for a livelihood to hunting and fishing, in which they "lost their former ways of living, and apostatized"—lost the arts of civilization, and became savages. After a while they bend their course to the southeast in search of a more satisfactory dwelling place. They crossed many large rivers, but none which ebbed and flowed like the *Muh-he-con-nuk* of their "nativity," until they reached the Hudson near Albany. Pleased with the resemblance, they gave the river the name of *Mahe-canituk*, and as the shores abounded in game, while the soil was easily tilled by their rude husbandry, they resolved to make them their home. They therefore kindled their council fire nearly opposite the city of Albany, at Esquatuk, "the place of fire," now corrupted to Schodack, where it long remained.

The native writer, from whom we have quoted, styles the government "Democratical." From his description it appears rather to have been an elective and very limited monarchy. Upon the death of the chief sachem his successor was chosen by the body of the people, not from among his sons, but from his nephews in the female line, if there were any; we are not told what was done if he had none. He had the charge of all the affairs of peace, which it was his duty to attempt to preserve. He must have nothing to do with wars, but exhort his people to peace and unity, and harmony with their allies, giving his whole thought to promote their happiness. He was looked upon as a great tree, under



whose shade the whole nation might sit. He had no stated salary, as it was esteemed disgraceful to ask pay for public services; but it was the custom to help him build his long wigwam, or executive mansion, and he fared well in voluntary gifts, the hunters contributing liberally of their spoils, and the women bringing moccasins, belts, garters, and other ornaments, not forgetting wampum. As he entertained all strangers until their business was completed his people saw that there was no lack of provisions on such occasions. He was also hereditary keeper of the "Bag of Peace" which was made of wild hemp and would hold about a bushel of wampum and strings, to be used as tokens in making treaties of friendship. When they found the wampum in the bag running short the sachem and his counsellors sent their runner to collect more—"from the women." He also, in the same way, was the custodian of the "Pipe of Peace," which the writer is careful to describe as being "made of a hard, red stone, and having a long stem." It is curious fact, that pipes of peace, answering perfectly this description, have been used all over the country, from Maine to the far West, and from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, from the earliest times to the present, wherever there have been or are independent Indian tribes. One, captured in the Seminole war, is in the Historical Cabinet of the Berkshire Athenæum, and specimens may be found in many museums. It also strikingly illustrates the commercial intercourse which existed between extreme sections of the country, even in its most savage days, when we learn that the red stone spoken of is found only in one quarry on the banks of the upper Mississippi, while the obsidian-like arrow heads, which are scattered everywhere, were made from a stone found only in one locality, in the interior of Maine, where the fragments left by the native workmen in "chipping" them may still be seen scattered in profusion. It is of tradition that the Iniquids made a hostile incursion for the purpose of getting exclusive possession of it.

The sachem was the only hereditary office. He was aided in promoting the peace and happiness of his people by counsellors, called chiefs, wise men elected by the people, whose duty it was, besides aiding the sachem in council, to exhort the young people to every good work. We are afraid the chronicler is here again a little influenced, at least in his phraseology, by his missionary education. The chief sachem was also attended by two officers, who have their counterparts in civilized courts—the owl and the runner. The owl was required to have a strong memory and a stout voice, for it was his place to sit beside the sachem in council and proclaim his decrees to the people. At daybreak every morning, he also imitated the screeching of an owl, to rouse the people, whom he ordered to their respective duties for the day. The runner must be swift of foot, and sure of tongue both as to memory and truthfulness. His office was to summon the people, when the sachem required them to assemble, to herald the coming of the sachem and chiefs when they went abroad to hold council with others, to light the sachem's pipe







when he was negotiating treaties, and to collect wampum from the women when it was needed for purposes of state.

This much of the civil government of the Mahican nation; but in war there was another office, of the first importance, that of *Moquet paum*, or Hero, which was obtained by courage or prudence, manifested in war-like exploits. In time of peace the heroes, whom we should call simply war-chiefs, sat with the sachems and counsellors, but only to assent to their decisions, never to contradict them. But, to use the diplomatic phrase of our chronicler, "when they found it necessary to join in any war," they put the whole business into the hands of the heroes, after exhorting them to be brave and prudent, and take good care of their young men. When the heroes received propositions of peace from the enemy they were immediately referred to the sachem and his counsellors for their decision. Thus the civil arm of the government did not interfere with the military, nor the military with the civil. At what time this curious constitution was modified, if it ever existed, we have no means of determining. But when Europeans first became acquainted with the Mahicans, their laws, customs, and religious faith do not seem to have differed essentially from those of other tribes in the northern and eastern portions of the continent, which have been too frequently described to need repetition here. They all betoken a common origin. It is certain that the Muhhekaneok grew and flourished, gradually expanding their proper empire to the limits we have already defined. They also sent out offshoots northward and southward, which became powerful tribes; some of them more noted in the warfare of red men and the white than the mother tribe, which almost invariably was in alliance with the governments of New York and Massachusetts. The French (Jesuit) Missionaries speak of "the nine nations of Manhigans, gathered between Manhattan Island and the environs of Quebec." These "nations," as nearly as can now be ascertained, were the original Mahicans, the Soquiatucks, Horicons, Penacooks, Nipmucks, Abenakis, Nawans, Soquios, and Wappingers. There seems to have been a mysterious bond between these tribes (whose territory extended from beyond the Connecticut on the east to beyond the Hudson on the west) which, although not amounting to a league or compelling all to act together, had no little influence over their conduct in the wars which harrassed the early English and Dutch settlers. The most famous offshoots of the Mahican tribe were, however, the Pequots of Connecticut, and the Mohegans, who separated from them.

The Mahican chronicler boasts that there was a time when the tribe, not the confederacy, could rally a thousand warriors. In the same region a thousand voters would now indicate a population of five thousand souls, and we may assume, without any violent presumption, that the same proportion would hold good between the numbers of the warriors and of the whole population, when the Mahicans inhabited it. The same territory, including the counties of Albany, Rensselaer, Columbia, and



Washington in New York, and Berkshire in Massachusetts, with portions of several others, now has several hundred thousand inhabitants, without filling its capacity. Yet, before the year 1600, it was so overcrowded, in its savage state, by five or six thousand, that emigration, on a large scale compared with the population from which it was taken, was necessary. There can be no stronger illustration of the extent to which the arts of civilization multiply the gifts of nature. It may be doubted whether the mathematical attainments of the aborigines were sufficient for taking an exact census, accurately defining boundaries, or correctly fixing historical dates. But in their loose ownership, a few hundred square miles more or less of border land was of little account. To trace their chronology before the coming of the Dutch would be as hopeless a task as to count the ages which went to make up a Berkshire gravel bed. A "thousand" may have meant merely a large number, more or less in different cases than it means in our enumeration. But, as regards the census of the Mahikaneok warriors at the time of the tribe's greatest prosperity, other data lead us to believe that a literal interpretation would not, at least, exaggerate the number.

From that point various causes contributed to a decline, until even on the banks of the Housatonic, to which the council fire had been transferred from the Hudson, the tribe showed but a shadow, or a skeleton, of its former self.

The causes of this decline, although of a varied character and long misunderstood, are for the most part easily traced.

For an immemorial period before the Mahicans, in September, 1609, saw Hendrick Hudson sailing up to their doors in the *Half Moon*, and made their first acquaintance with the white man, they had been engaged in an implacable and murderous warfare with their western neighbors, the renowned Iroquois or Six Nations, and especially the fiercest tribe of them all, the Mohawks. Rittenber denies indignantly that they were ever reduced to subjection by that powerful confederacy; but however that may have been, it is quite clear that at one time they were reduced by them to straits which were very much like it. This, however, is not so much to our present purpose as the fact that the wars were soon resumed with more murderous fury than ever; fortune now often favoring the Mahicans, but never without slaughter which reduced their numbers. Victorious or defeated, almost every fight dwindled their people; but especially if defeated, for then if women or children were spared, it was only to be transferred to the victors.

Both the Mahicans and the Iroquois occupied territory over which the British Crown claimed sovereignty, and its subjects found a land of treasure; but their wars were a serious obstacle to the trade with both, and with other Indians, in furs and other peltry, which was a source of large revenue to the proprietors and traders of the province of New York. Governor Lovelace, who came from England in 1674, was therefore charged to bring about a peace between the hostile tribes, which he







succeeded in doing in 1672 or 1673. The tribes were treated on terms of perfect equality, and their reconciliation was cordial, sincere, and permanent. Their friendship was as warm as their hatred had been, and they did not again meet each other in arms until the War of the Revolution, when the Mohawks adhered to their British alliance, while the Mahicans, then mostly concentrated at Stockbridge, warmly espoused the cause of the patriots.

In the course of these wars, besides the waste of life, the Mahicans lost all of their territory north of the Mohawk River and west of the Hudson. The Mohawks obtained it by conquest. In April, 1680, they sold a large portion of their land in the vicinity of the city of Albany to the Patroon Van Rensselaer, who continued purchasing in the same vicinity until the original owners had little left on that side of the river. Other purchases of valley lands on the eastern shore, by Livingston and others, followed. The original occupants of the soil fell back to the hilly regions on the borders of New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, making their homes in their sunny valleys. Disgraceful as it is to our civilization, it is no uncommon story that we repeat when we add that the wise chiefs favored the abandonment of the homes of their fathers in order that their young men, and young women too, might be withdrawn from the vicious contamination inseparable from contact with the white man. It is still more disgraceful that the white trader was able to follow them, even to their mountain refuge, until the strong arm of Massachusetts stayed his course. New diseases also followed in the track of the white man, and found many victims among those not provided with the means of treating them medically. In the year 1701 these evils, and their results, had by no means reached their full extent; but in that year we have data by which to measure the decline of the tribe from its pristine estate. In a conference that year with Governor Bellmont, Sequans, the Mahican chief, who had been engaged in bringing immigrants into his tribe, was exultant in being able to report, — "We have two hundred fighting men belonging to this county of Albany, from Kaitskill to Skatchkook, and hope to increase in a year's time to three hundred." He expected the increase from the Penacooks and other eastern Indians. The county of Albany then included all the territory in that State north of Ulster, on the west side of the Hudson, and north of Dutchess, on the east side, besides, as New York claimed, all of Massachusetts west of the Connecticut River.

"*Skatchkook*" is a corruption of the word *Schaghticoke*, which is also only a corruption of *Pishqachqok*, "the place where a large and small stream meet, with corn lands adjoining." This is rather a description than a name, and it is applied to two localities: One in the present town of Schaghticoke, in Rensselaer county; one in Litchfield county, Connecticut, which extends northward into Sheffield, in Berkshire county, where a few families resided at a point where the Green River formerly joined the larger Housatonic. Tribes made up from Pequod



fugitives received lands from their Mahican brethren at these points, and attained importance, taking the name of their locality. That referred to by Soqnans was probably on the Housatonic, and intended to indicate the eastern limit of the territory actually inhabited by his people in 1701. The southern Schaghticoke tribe had, however, not been organized.

In the earlier days of the tribe they made their homes in the valley along the banks of the Hudson, from which they were known to the whites as "The River Indians," by which name they are called in the colonial records. The mountain regions of Berkshire and the neighboring counties were reserved as special hunting grounds. Their chronicler tells us that they hunted occasionally the whole year, but there were two special hunting seasons. In the fall they hunted the deer, bear, raccoon, beaver, otter, fisher, and martin, for clothing and drying meat for the winter. In the beginning of March they went out to hunt the moose, on the Green Mountains, where these animals went for winter quarters. There they went again, for beaver hunting, as soon as the rivers, ponds, and creeks were open; but they took good care not to stay beyond two months.

It is singular that in the enumeration of the wild animals of Berkshire by Professor Dewey no mention is made of the moose, the otter, or the beaver. The ease with which the moose could be slaughtered in these narrow valleys may have caused its early extermination, or driven it to a remote refuge; but the beaver and the otter long remained in such abundance as to afford profitable hunting and trapping, their fur being a valuable item in traffic with the great markets. The otter has not yet entirely disappeared, several having been caught, within a few years, in a limited locality hardly six miles from the center of Pittsfield.

It has been stated, from the earliest knowledge which the white men had of the region, that the site of the town of Pittsfield was called by the Indians Poontoosuck, "The Field of the Winter Deer," by which perhaps the moose was meant. But the same name was applied to certain woods in Cummington, in the Hoosac Mountains, in Hampshire county, and it is not improbable that it designated all the mountainous hunting ground of the Mahicans. But, be this as it may, when the English of Massachusetts first explored the Berkshire valley there were scarcely any aboriginal families permanently resident in it, nor were there many more when the settlement was commenced, in 1725.

The Housatonic River and the valley through which it passes in Southern Berkshire are localities of great interest in the aboriginal occupation of the county. We have described its course in a previous chapter. The orthography and meaning of the name have been subjects of much speculation. The early writers, after their manner of representing the pronunciation of Indian names by every possible combination of letters, vary from "Aussatonag," through a dozen different forms, to "Ousatonsuck."







After diligent inquiry among the Stockbridge Indians, and critical comparison of authorities, Dr. Dwight considers *Hoo-ca-ten-nuc* to be the orthography which best represents the Mahican pronunciation: the interpretation being "The River beyond the Mountains." Isaac Hunting, of Pine Plains, N. Y., J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, the eminent Indian philologist, and Charles J. Taylor, of Great Barrington, the most competent of recent critics of this question, assent to Dr. Dwight's conclusion, omitting the word "River," and substituting "over" for "beyond," which makes the phrase a little more strikingly significant by indicating that the point designated is immediately beyond the mountain which those who used the term familiarly were in the habit of frequently passing over to reach it. Of course it was not intended to convey the idea that the river was suspended over the mountain, like a bird in its flight or the moon in the heavens. Mr. Hunting holds, also, that the syllables "ten-nuc," meaning "mountain," included, in the Indian's understanding of it, the idea of a mountain of trees, or one covered with forests, which accords with one meaning ascribed to the word *Taghcanic* or *Tahgkanik*. All the modern critics agree that the name was originally applied to the locality through which it passes in Berkshire, from which the river received it just as, upon New York maps, it became the *Westenhook* when it reaches the *Westenhook Patent*, and in Connecticut was called the *Stratford*, from the name of the town at which it joins Long Island Sound. Mr. Taylor holds the word *Westenhook* to be a Dutch corruption of *Hooestennuc*. Good taste and love of euphony have changed the spelling and the pronunciation to *Housatonic*, and extended it to the whole stream.

From our first knowledge of it the *Housatonic* has been a river of frequent historic incidents. In August, 1676, when at the close of King Phillip's war, the ruined remnant of the *Narragansett* tribe were flying westward, Major John Talcot, who, with a body of Connecticut troops, was stationed at Westfield, learned that the trail of some two hundred of the fugitives, tending toward the Hudson, had been discovered. He followed it and discovered them lying in the utmost confidence and security at some point on the west bank of the *Housatonic*. As they were entirely unsuspecting of his presence in the neighborhood he determined to postpone the attack until morning, when he ordered one division of his men to pass down the river, and, by a detour, take a position on the west side of the sleeping enemy, while he led the other to the attack in front. It happened, however, that a wakeful Indian, who had gone down the river to fish, discovered the movement of the first division and gave the usual alarm: "Awanux! Awanux!" A fatal bullet from the white ranks rewarded his vigilance with death, but he saved the lives of many of his brethren. Talcot, who was already in position, hearing the alarm, poured in a volley upon the sleepers as they rose in terror. They fled in consternation to the woods, and, although closely pursued by the troops, most of those who were not killed or badly wounded by the first fire



escaped into the woods. Twenty-five men were left upon the ground, and twenty taken prisoners. Talcot lost but one man, and he was a Mohegan Indian.

We condense this account, which bears the impress of perfect truthfulness, from Hoyt's "Antiquarian Researches," published in 1824. Hubbard, in his narrative of the Indian wars, speaks of Major Talcot's overtaking and fighting the "Narragansetts on the Ausotanning River, in the middle way between Westfield and the Dutch River and Fort Albany, where he killed and took prisoners forty-five of them, whetsof twenty-five were fighting men." He adds "that many of the rest were sorely wounded, as appeared by the dabbling of the bushes with blood, as was observed by those who followed them a little further." Hubbard had also a later report from Albany that, in addition to the forty-five men killed and taken prisoners, other Narragansetts were slain, so that their whole loss was sixty. It is to be hoped, for his soul's welfare, that the historian did not gleefully add to this grim record of death and misery that 120 were dead from sickness. We do not put the same implicit faith in what Historian Hubbard heard from Albany that we do in Hoyt's record founded upon official sources of information; still, in the flight which followed that fearful reveille of musketry there must have been much of suffering and death—uselessly inflicted.

There was not much glory to be acquired in such an encounter, although the Indians were treated in the manner which they had themselves taught their Christian foes, finding them apt scholars in the school of blood. Still, this affair requires notice at our hands as the first and the most bloody of the very few hostile meetings of the red man and the white on Berkshire soil; and the reader will note, as we speak of them, that in no one instance were the Mahicans, under whatever name, engaged against the soldiers or the people of Massachusetts. The locality of such a fight as that of Major Talcot and the Narragansetts would be considered as an interesting or "romantic" spot, wherever it was situated. In superstitious times ghosts, or some sort of spectres, would surely have haunted the spot; and some evidence from the other world is needed, even now, to point it out with any certainty, for it is claimed for Stockbridge, Great Barrington, and Salisbury. Hoyt, in a foot note to his account, states that it was in the upper part of Sheffield, and that at the time he wrote (1824) it was still known to the inhabitants. Rev. Dr. Eidl, whose biography was published five years later, seems to have known nothing of this, but supposes that the battle was probably fought near the site of the Stockbridge meeting house, built in 1784, because Indian bones were found in digging for its foundation. The peculiar boundary of the river at this point does not favor this theory, and the finding of Indian bones in Southern Berkshire is a too common occurrence to greatly strengthen it. The claim of Salisbury, in Connecticut, has some strong points of probability, but it is very indistinctly made, and may refer to some other similar conflict. Mr. Taylor, in his History of Great Barrington, suggests very modestly







that the scene of the slaughter was not improbably at the fordway by "The Great Wigwam," in that village, where the Indian trail from Westfield to the Hudson crossed the Housatonic. As there were no white settlers near this point, and, so far as appears in any account of the slaughter, no Mahicans, there was no reason why, in their perilous flight, they should not have chosen this, the easiest and most direct path to safety. It would certainly have been the most natural course; but we must confess that it is impossible to fix, with anything approaching to absolute certainty, the locality where Major Talcot surprised the flying Narragansetts and slew so many of them.

In 1694 Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, of Boston, afterward president of Harvard College, accompanied the commissioners of Massachusetts and Connecticut on their way to Albany to attend a conference of similar commissioners from New York, New Jersey, and Rhode Island, with the representatives of the Iroquois and Mahicans. His journal throws much light upon the country before it received Massachusetts settlers. The party, with a guard of sixty dragoons commanded by Capt. Wadsworth, of Hartford, a relative of the chaplain, left Boston August 6th, and reached Westfield on the ninth. Thus far there was a road—as roads were in those days. From Westfield there was scarcely more than an Indian trail—"the nearest way through the woods." The days' march was twenty-five miles, to the banks of the Farmington River, in Otis. The road was "very woody, rocky, mountainous, and swampy." "Extream bad riding it was!" exclaims the reverend traveller. "I never yet saw so bad travelling as this was." Capt. Wadsworth doubtless considered it ill-adapted to the operations of cavalry and reasonably counted twenty-five miles a fair day's march under the circumstances. The next day they made another twenty-five miles, the greater part of it through "a hideous wilderness, although some parts of the road was not not so extream bad." "We took up our lodging," continues the journal, "about sun-down in ye woods, at a place called Ousetomuck *formerly inhabited by Indians*. Through this place was a very curious river, the same (which some say) runs through Stratford; and it has on each side some parcels of pleasant fertile interval land." To complete the story of this march, before commenting on it, the commissioners and their escort, "setting forward about sunrise," reached Kinderhook, "the foremost of us," at about three o'clock in the afternoon of August 10th. From Kinderhook to Albany, the road was short, safe, and reasonably good; an easy ride would have brought the party into Albany before the sun of August 11th, 1694, had gone down.

President Wadsworth's journal throws valuable light upon the condition of the territory of Berkshire before its settlement, while it suggests to the student of its early history problems which he will not find it easy to solve. The reader will first observe that, while with the best facilities then attainable it required four days of tiresome and uncomfortable travel for the party starting from Boston to reach a point very near



the center of the present village of Great Barrington, a comparatively easy ride of less than a day brought them to Albany. There is another point of no little significance. The trail followed by this official party was that ordinarily pursued by all persons whose ill fortune compelled them to pass between Boston and Albany, either upon public or private business, unless they chose to make the detour through Connecticut, which this party did on their return to Boston. Whatever culture may have since made the route traversed by the Honorable Commissioners, it was, with the exception of the brief interval on the Housatonic, one of the most repulsive in Berkshire. So far as their observations and report went travellers over it did not encourage the settlement of the region, and it was years before any except the daring, adventurous, and hardy explorer pursued any other. This fact aids somewhat in the explanation of the long delay in the settlement of the county.

But there are other questions raised by President Wadsworth's brief words which are not so easily comprehended or explained. He confirms the opinion that the word of multitudinous orthography, which we have reduced to Housatonic, was originally applied rather to the country, or a part of it, through which the Housatonic River passes than to the stream itself. It is true, also, that in speaking of "a place called Onsetonuck, formerly inhabited by Indians," he refers to a limited locality, and, if our conjectures as to the locality of Major Talcot's surprise are correct, at the same place in Great Barrington where his muskets roused the sleeping fugitives. It is not at all strange that the pleasant valley of the Housatonic in Southern Berkshire should have been inhabited early by the Mahicans, for it was quite as well adapted to their purposes as the valley of the Hudson—safer from hostile attacks, and nearer to their mountainous spring hunting grounds. The mystery is why they should have abandoned it. It certainly was not to join the Narragansetts in their flight, for there is no information in any account of the affair of any inhabitants near their fatal encampment west of the "old Ford," nor of any addition to their number afterward, as there surely would have been if any had existed. Indeed, the friendship of the tribe with the English of Massachusetts would have rendered such a flight absurd. It is possible that some of the Berkshire Mahicans may have aided the Narragansetts in making their escape. It is an old proverb "that blood is thicker than water," and the old Mahicans may have thought it thicker than the ink upon parchment treaties. If they did we can only honor them for it, but we cannot believe that any Mahican, living, as he could, very much at his ease in Onsetonuck, deserted it to take his chances with hunted men pursued by powerful and vindictive foes. President Wadsworth does not inform us upon what ground he believed that the place called Onsetonuck had been inhabited by Indians previous to 1694.

After the visit of the colonial commissioners we next find the Housatonic River, under the name of the Westenhook, mentioned in the *Colonial History of New York* as the boundary line of the territory which







by treaty with the French Indians of Canada, the Iroquois and Mahicans were able to maintain in the war of 1704. Says the narrative: "The inhabitants of this province (New York) who lived on the west side of that river, followed all their occupations in husbandry as in times of peace, while at the same time the inhabitants of New England were in their sight, exposed to the merciless cruelty of the French and their Indian allies." As in 1704 there was on the eastern side of the Housatonic a rough and mountainous region, some twenty-five miles wide, totally destitute of any white population, and on the west a similar region some fifteen miles wide, there seems to be some hypothesis in this description of the neutrality line; but it at least shows the importance of the river in aboriginal geography, and the good will of the Iroquois and Mahicans toward their nearest white neighbors.

In all this the reader will find little more than conjecture and probability to sustain the theory of the occupation of any portion of Berkshire soil by the Indians, as a permanent home, much prior to 1700. Still, the probability is very strong that some Mahicans, passing through the rich interval lands of the Housatonic valley on their way to their mountainous hunting grounds may, before that era, have chosen to abide there with their families, in a region safe from the attack of enemies, favorable to their mode of culture, and in the near neighborhood of abundant game. From the first the Mahicans, without disturbing their tribal organization, were broken up into subdivisions, often consisting of only two or three families; generally but the different hutchies of one. In fact, the whole aboriginal constitution of government was a rude antetype of our own national, state, county, and town system, each with certain reserved rights, but all subject in national matters to one supreme head, or confederacy. Under this system any Mahican could make a settlement anywhere in the territory of the tribe, and thereby, as it seems, by preëmption, acquire a title to the soil. The organization of the province of New York into counties, parishes, and other precincts, to which the Indians were compelled to conform in their dealings with the settlers, led to still new subdivisions, and a looser regard for the old. As, in this and other respects, the provincial laws became more irksome, there grew up, on the part of the Indians, an increased disposition to escape from their immediate control and avail themselves of the old tribal freedom of separation and right of preëmption.

Previous to the opening of the trade in furs and peltry for exportation the Indian hunted the wild animals around his village simply to obtain food and clothing for himself and family. When their needs were supplied his natural indolence, or a wise prudence, led him to stay his slaughter. The white man taught him new cravings, if not new needs. The very first lesson which Christian civilization taught the red barbarians, on board Hendrick Hudson's *Half Moon*, was the delight of spirituous intoxication, and with that it pursued them until, with no aid from war, the Mahicans were driven from their native soil, or fled from it to escape contamination.



The next boon which the white man bestowed upon the red was fire-arms and ammunition. Of course, in the traffic between the races, clothing, food, hatchets, and other articles were sold to the Indians; but the desire for fire-water and fire-arms was that which chiefly incited them to sell their lands and exterminate the animals which for ages had supplied their fathers with food and clothing. They constantly sold or destroyed their permanent resources, receiving in return only that which perished in the using. The European demand for furs of all kinds was insatiable, and the slaughter of deer, that their hides might be prepared as buckskin and made into breeches, did not cease until, about the close of the Revolutionary War, the last deer in Berkshire were slain during a winter when the snow was so deep that they were found and murdered in the yards which they had worn in it, and from which there was no escape. Of course the depletion of Mahican land of its valuable wild animals was most swift along the shores of the Hudson, where the lands were being rapidly brought into cultivation by Dutch and English farmers. As they became more valuable to the farmer they grew of less and less value to the hunter and trapper. The Indians, therefore, for this reason and others, were easily persuaded to sell their rich farming lands and withdraw to the hills, where, they were told, their possessions would be safe. The story is graphically told by Hendrick Aupamut, in his speech as representative of the River Indians, then concentrated at Stockbridge in their conference with the delegates of the Six Provinces at Albany in July, 1754:

"We would say something of our lands. When the white people purchased of us, from time to time, they said they only wanted the low-lands; they told us that the hill-land was good for nothing, being full of woods and stones. But now we see people living all about the hills and woods, although they have not purchased the land. When we ask them what right they have to the land they reply that we are not to be regarded, as these lands belong to the King. But we were the first possessors of them. When the King has paid us for them, then they may say they are his."

At the date of this speech the Indians, of Berkshire county, at least, had been paid for all the lands occupied by its settlers; but of that we must speak hereafter. Their alienation of the rich soil of the low-lands began early and increased rapidly, for the natural reason that their value to the white farmer was constantly enhanced, while for the red hunter they grew more and more barren. Religious and moral causes contributed to the same end, but this was the most potent influence in transferring the Mahican council fires from the Hudson to the Housatonic. Rittenber states that the national seat was removed from Schoodac to Westenuck between 1664 and 1734—a wide range, which illustrates the extreme indefiniteness of the aboriginal story of the county; especially as the recognition by the Moravians was at least ten years after 1734. When Mr. Rittenber tells us that Westenuck







was known prior to 1734, both to the Massachusetts authorities and the Moravian missionaries, as the national seat of the Mahicans, the instances cited show that he refers to the tract sold to the Massachusetts commissioners, March 25th, 1724, by Konkapot and twenty other Indians, and out of which was carved the Upper and Lower Housatonic townships. This territory, which is about eighteen miles long by twelve wide, covers, with some small reservations made by the grantees, the present towns of Sheffield, Great Barrington, Egremont, and Mount Washington, most of Alford, and a great portion of Stockbridge, West Stockbridge, and Lee. The comprehensive designation of the whole district was "all of Housatonaek alias Westenook," which would seem to indicate, if any sure inference can be drawn from Indian deeds, that these were the limits of what the Mahicans knew as Westenhook, Hooestonuck, and a dozen other forms of spelling the name.

In this district there were, in 1734, two principal villages about eight miles apart, one known as Skatekook, on the border of Sheffield and Great Barrington, and the other near the site of the present village of Stockbridge. The agents of the Massachusetts Board of Commissioners for Indian affairs, who visited the Indians at Housatonic in July, 1734, were Rev. Messrs. Bull and Williams. After a four days' conference the Indians consented to receive a religious teacher. Where this conference was held is not stated; but, in the following October, Mr. Bull returned with the Missionary Sergeant. They went over the same road pursued by President Wadsworth, and Mr. Sergeant pathetically records that it lay "through a most doleful wilderness," and was, "perhaps, the worst road that was ever rid." They desired the Indians to meet them midway between their two villages, or near the center of the present town of Great Barrington. The next meeting was, however, held at the dwelling of Lieutenant Umpachene, which is described as "fifty or sixty feet long and quite commodious." Apparently we have here "The Great Wigwam" of the Housatonic Indians, in a new locality, but within a few miles of the old; although Konkapot, who lived at Wun-ta-kook, was a chief superior to Umpachene; Mr. Hopkins, speaking of him as the principal man among the Muhikaneok of Massachusetts. The conference held at Skatekook, in 1734, however, concerned directly only the Mahicans of Housatonnek, and there is no intimation in the account of it which proves that this was at that time the seat of the Mahican national government.

The conference led to great events for the tribe, and, indeed, finally to a complete revolution in its affairs with the establishment of the mission, the concentration of the scattered relics of the Muhikaneok at Stockbridge and the transfer of the national council. Leskiel, the Moravian historian, speaks, in 1751, of delegates "sent to the great council of the Mahican nation at Westenuck." In 1736 Konkapot, the Housatonic sachem, visited Boston, in company with the Hudson River chiefs as representing one people. While at the Albany conference of 1753, the



Housatonic chiefs were recognized by the delegates of the United Provinces as the true representatives of the Mahican nation, to the exclusion of those recognized as such by the New York provincial authorities. But we are getting far in advance of our story, and must return to it. In 1734, when the first measures for the establishment of the mission commenced, the Indian population of the county, all of it in the central and southern part, was extremely small. According to the history of the mission, Umpachene, with four other families, lived at Skatekook, and Konkapot, with four or five others, at or near the Great Meadow known as Wmahtakook, in Stockbridge. Miss Jones, in "Stockbridge Past and Present," states, no doubt correctly, that there were also a few families in New Marlboro, and in Poontoosuck, now Pittsfield. Probably Konkapot and the twenty Indians who, with him, signed the deed conveying the District of Housatonic to the Province of Massachusetts, included all the heads of families belonging to the sub-tribal organization which claimed to own it. This would correspond with the number of villages stated, and give a total population of perhaps 125, or less than that of the least populous town which the county now has.

It has long been claimed that, previous to any knowledge of this region by the white man, the native population was very much larger than that which he found. That it was somewhat larger than we find it in 1734 we readily admit. The Mahican tribe had been depleted everywhere by warfare and by the diseases which followed in the track of "civilization," and by emigration to join other tribes. Some, converted to Catholicism by the Jesuits, had followed the fathers to Canada; others, converted to the Moravian faith, found a home, at least for a time, in the settlements of that peaceful sect in Pennsylvania, while many wayward ones joined the Iroquois, who were glad to receive them. About 1728, Gideon Mawehn, alias Mayhew, a small Pequot chieftain, who had great ability, and had received an English education, founded the Skatekook tribe in the town of Kent, in Connecticut, on the Housatonic River, some twenty-five miles south of Sheffield. The chief had great magnetic power, and the location was very pleasant, so that he drew followers to himself with astonishing rapidity, the number of his warriors soon reaching 100, or a population of some 500. There was a well worn Indian road, or trail, marked by apple trees, from the village of Skatekook, in Kent, to that of the same name in Sheffield. That there was some connection between the two is clear, and that Mayhew's band, occupying recognized Mahican territory, acknowledged some allegiance to the grand council of the tribe is also certain. Many Mahicans are known to have joined it, and after its conversion to the Moravian faith, to have migrated with it to Pennsylvania. Except warfare with the Iroquois none of these causes help to account for the depopulation of Housatonuck, or Westenhuck, before the coming of the white man, when it is said to have taken place; and even in tradition there is no hint preserved of any exterminating warfare specially confined to this point.







The belief that long prior to the exploration of the Housatonic district by the white man it contained a much larger native population than he found there is based upon the frequent finding of Indian implements of war or house-keeping, and the discovery of large numbers of human bones, often in established burial grounds, but frequently at isolated points. Mr. Taylor, who has made the most thorough research in the matter, reports in his history of Great Barrington, the discovery in that town of a number of aboriginal burial grounds, and human skeletons found in detached localities, which may well be considered remarkable; and which, whatever else it may prove, is certainly conclusive as to the fact that Great Barrington was the chief seat of the Mahicans resident in what is now Berkshire. Mr. Taylor enumerates other burial grounds of the aboriginal proprietors of the soil, where we might expect to find them, in the neighborhood of the villages of Skatekook and Stockbridge. In the Skatekook and principal Great Barrington burial grounds pieces of rude pottery were found, most of which crumbled when exposed to the air. This would indicate either a remote antiquity or a date after European goods were introduced, as no mention is anywhere made of pottery as an art known to the Indians of New York or Massachusetts. An Indian burial ground, not mentioned by Mr. Taylor, is situated on the east bank of the Housatonic River in Pittsfield, about a mile north of the Lenox line. Between the burial ground and the knoll on which stands the villa built by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, the river winds through what were called in old deeds the "Canoe Meadows." Tradition says that the name was derived from the fact that the Indians, coming from Stockbridge, after the settlement, were accustomed to leave their canoes there while they visited the graves of their ancestors. It is quite as likely that the time of their absence was spent in hunting, or in the neighboring tavern, but as the meadows were at about the head of canoe navigation, unless the skiffs were carried to the lakes, they afforded a natural harbor for them. The graves were visible about fifty years since but have never been opened. Remains of Indian bodies were also found a little south of Pontoosuc Lake.

In early times flint arrow heads were found frequently in all parts of the county, and they are still occasionally discovered. In the Housatonic district hatchets, pestles, and occasionally the mortars used for grinding corn were found in considerable abundance, as they were also in the region just below the "Canoe Meadows." Poles, used in the erection of wigwams, the ends being pointed by charring, have been found east of Lake Onota so deep in the peat beds as to indicate some antiquity and similar relics were found at Housatonic. All these facts give plausibility to the theory that sometime prior to 1734 there was a larger native population in what is now the southern half of the county than there was in that year; still, we apprehend that it was never very large; probably at no time exceeding 2000. In weighing the evidence we must remember that in any community to which large accessions are not made



by immigration, after two or three generations the tenants of the graveyard out-number those of the dwellings, and the majority goes on increasing from year to year until the number of the living bears but an inconsiderable proportion to that of the dead. It would not have required a century for the Indians of Westenhook, in the course of nature, to fill many graves, even if the number of the living did not exceed 100. So with regard to the implements of war, hunting and household utility, they were made of stone, and not liable to be destroyed by rust. They could be broken, but even then recognizable fragments would, in most cases, have remained. There is no statement that any great number of these articles were ever carried away, they being considered of little value, except as curiosities, after the introduction of European wares. The number which have been unearthed is certainly not enough to found a conjecture of a very large population upon, and it is very rarely that new discoveries are now made; the region of the greatest Indian population having been the earliest and most thoroughly cultivated by their successors. That arrow heads should be found everywhere is no marvel, for it is not disputed that, however small the permanent aboriginal population of the county may have been, the whole tribe used it as a hunting ground, and that the young warriors followed their quarry in all parts of it with their full force. Its woods were by no means solitary, and if the hunter chanced to die, as might well happen, he was probably buried near the spot where death came to him by accident, violence, or disease.





## CHAPTER IV.

### SETTLEMENT OF BERKSHIRE COUNTY.

By J. E. A. SMITH.

First settlement.—Causes of its long delay.—Boundary differences.—Political state.—Nature of the settlement.—Early customs.

MORE than fifty years before the territory which is now Berkshire county had a single white inhabitant, unless some adventurous Dutch trader dwelt among the Indians at Housatouneck, every other county in Massachusetts had begun to receive settlers. So rapid was the advance of population inland that it was only twenty-six years after the Pilgrims set foot on Plymouth Rock when Springfield was founded on the eastern shore of the Connecticut. How brief this period was the reader of to-day cannot measure by the events and vicissitudes in the history of the county, within his own memory, of a similar length of time. He must also take into account what 265 years have done to accelerate the speed of human progress: the very last century having done more than any other to furnish facilities for the extension of a civilized population into new regions—it might be said more than all other centuries combined, could the invention of fire-arms and the mariner's compass, and the discovery of the New World, be forgotten. Having once reached the American shore they who, in 1620, laid the foundations of New England life, and of much that is best in all American life, on Plymouth Rock, had little aid from any appliances of civilization in pushing their empire inland, except what protection was afforded them by the possession of fire-arms, and these the Indians gradually obtained and learned to use with dire effect. The help of the Pilgrim fathers was from on high: and they had little other except from their stern and unqualified faith, their brave and true hearts, and stalwart arms, which too often soon became enfeebled by disease arising from unwonted labors and privations. Only a blindly persecuting government in Old England was helping to people New England with men whose children and whose principles in good time rent the British Empire in twain, and gave an impulse to popular and national liberty which has since been felt through-



out Europe, and before which crowns and coronets are even now trembling.

This persecution ceased before the assembly of the Long Parliament, in 1640, four years after the settlement of Springfield, and with it ceased some of the motives of emigration from Old to New England. As the conflict in England went on and resulted in the establishment of the commonwealth, some who had sought refuge in Massachusetts returned to England to take a part in the conflict there. Emigration still continued, but so long as Parliament or Cromwell reigned, no longer for the same reasons or to the same extent as before. Still, within thirty years after the settlement of Springfield the fine tier of towns along the western shore of the Connecticut in Hampden and Hampshire counties began to be peopled, though Holland estimates the whole population of the Connecticut valley in 1673 at less than 1,500. In 1670 the first daring pioneer built his log cabin on what was destined to be "the dark and bloody ground" of Deerfield. Up to this time, and until the breaking out of King Philip's war in 1675, the settlements on the Connecticut were unmolested by savage warfare, and extended, at some points, as at Westfield, more than ten miles west of the river. Here the advance of population was stayed and remained stationary, and often with difficulty maintained its position, for more than half a century, although, with the return of the Stuarts to royal power, the motives for the emigration of Puritans from England had not only been revived but redoubled, at least under the second James. Mount Tekoa continued to mark the western boundary of civilized Massachusetts. Until the year 1725 the region from this point westward almost to the Hudson River was an unbroken wilderness. The same desolation prevailed northward, and on the northwest to Canada, and southward far into Connecticut. For obvious reasons, which it is not necessary to recount here, the time had not yet come for pushing settlements into northern New York and Vermont. The case was otherwise with regard to the large expanse of forest in western Massachusetts and northwestern Connecticut, which lay between communities that, in spite of Indian wars and all other obstacles, were growing up to thrift in the Connecticut and Hudson valleys and along the shores of Long Island Sound. This was not an unknown region. It had been visited by public spirited citizens, explored by scouts and engineers, and "prospected" by land speculators. Why, then, was the settlement of Berkshire, with all the natural advantages which it possessed, so long delayed? And why, after that delay, was it commenced at the time and at the place it was?

The rugged barriers interposed by the Hoosau Mountains were formidable in fact, and still more forbidding in aspect. Descriptions had been given by travelers between Boston and Albany of the hideousness of the intervening country, except for a narrow interval along the Housatonic. No newspapers, inspired by advertising speculators, had as yet begun to offset these diatribes and the oral accounts, by reassuring editorial paragraphs and glowing correspondence, urging young men of the





more eastern counties to go west and settle on the rich and virgin lands of western Hampshire, which then extended to the New York line, wherever that might be, and were so remarkably well adapted to the culture of wheat and the raising of cattle, "besides having innumerable other advantages." And yet it is certain that far sighted men on both sides of the border had already fixed keen and shrewd eyes upon choice tracts in these "unappropriated lands." The forbidding aspect of a region now ranked among the most beautiful and attractive in the world had some effect in extending its settlement, but not much, for the clear-eyed explorers soon discovered the smiling face behind the frowning mask. A much more effective obstacle lay in the Indian wars and depredations which, commencing with the plotting and tribal leaguings of King Philip of the Wampanoags in 1675, continued until the close of Queen Anne's war in 1713. For thirty-eight years, with brief and troubled intervals, the Connecticut valley and the region in Worcester county immediately east of it were harrassed continually by savage hordes, their villages burned, their fields laid waste, and their people murdered. This was the territory from which population might be expected to flow into the Housatonic valley and over the Green Mountains which bordered it. But even while the musket was as needful to the husbandman at his work as the hoe, the spade, and the scythe, the farms of the Connecticut valley must be cultivated, and its young men could be ill spared either from its husbandry or from the defense of its homes. To be sure the war path of the Canadian Indians lay across the northern section of what is now Berkshire, and a new frontier might have been established there for the protection of the settlements at the east; but the time had not yet come for that.

There was a reason for not forming this new frontier, entirely distinct from dread of the Indians or lack of surplus population in the regions from which settlers might have been expected to come, and which operated more forcibly than both combined to deter Massachusetts settlers from seeking a home in the extreme western section of the province. This was the closely balanced boundary dispute with New York. Massachusetts claimed that her boundary, as defined by the charter by William and Mary, in 1791, was an extension, due north, of the western line of Connecticut, which would have carried her territory a little west of what it now is. The wording of the charter is, "westward as far as our colonies of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and the Narragansett counties." This language is certainly less precise than a good conveyancer would use in drawing a deed, and would very well bear the construction put upon it by New York, that the eastern, and not the western, line of Connecticut was intended. It required evidence to prove the contrary.

In addition to this New York assumed that, even if the Massachusetts charter of 1791 did refer to the western line of Connecticut, it was anteceded and barred by the grant of Charles II, in 1674, to his brother, the Duke of York, "of all lands from the west side of the Connecticut River



to the east side of Delaware Bay." Abstruse legal questions arose upon this point and others, which were never determined, the whole matter being finally settled by agreement between the contending parties. In 1723, no such settlement seemed probable, but rather that the points in issue must be adjudicated by the Royal Privy Council of England, a tribunal in which Massachusetts had no reason to place confidence, even if her case had been much stronger.

Whoever received lands in the disputed territory from Massachusetts either by grant for public services, or by purchase, or for any other reason, was liable to be dispossessed and such improvements as he had made forfeited, if it should be adjudged to New York. But even if, as afterward happened in a similar dispute with New Hampshire, New York had ratified the titles of actual settlers in order to augment her tax paying population, still there were reasons why Massachusetts men would have shunned this region. Every Massachusetts land owner, great or small, boasted himself a freeholder. All other grants and deeds from the province were made in fee simple, subject only to such taxes as the representatives of the people, in General Court assembled, might vote. The land owners of Massachusetts—and almost every Massachusetts citizen of repute was, or expected to be, a land holder—prized this as a badge of dignity and freedom. In New York, on the contrary, lands were held by a feudal tenure, first under the Duke of York, afterward King James Second, of infamous memory, and after the Revolution of 1688 under "the Crown." They were subject to an annual quit rent, which was something more than a peppercorn. In 1756, when there were few settlers in the disputed district, and with a fierce French and Indian war raging and threatening its borders, Governor Hardy, of New York, viewing it with greedy eyes, estimated the quit rent which the king ought to receive from it at £2,000. In 1764, Lieutenant-Governor Colden, not quite so rapacious, put it at £1,200. When the islands in Buzzard's Bay were attached to New York their poor fishermen were required to pay barrels of their choicest fish as a tribute to this same Lord paramount.

No Massachusetts man ever could consent to become a settler where there was a probability of his becoming subject to a rule like this. They did settle in Berkshire long before the controversy was determined and at a point almost up to the western verge of the limit claimed by Massachusetts, but it was with a full determination to maintain her jurisdiction, and full confidence that she would not desert them in so doing. This settlement was not made simply for the advancement of the private interests of those who joined in it, or from a desire on the part of the province merely to extend the area of its cultivated lands. It was, to a certain extent, and indeed primarily, inspired by what may be called reasons of state.

Between the years 1717 and 1722 it became clear that the line between Connecticut and New York, agreed upon as to its principles in 1683-4, must soon be surveyed and fixed. The agreement was upon a line about







twenty miles east of the Hudson River; but, along the shores of Long Island Sound, Connecticut had pushed her settlements, in what is now Fairfield county, some miles west of this line. New York consented even to this, taking as an equivalent a narrow strip of land extending all along the western boundary of Connecticut, north of that portion of Fairfield county which juts into her territory; in which exchange Connecticut made a sharp bargain. It was clear that in obtaining a boundary so far west of that originally conceded to her, Connecticut had been powerfully aided by her policy of pushing her settlements boldly up to the furthest limits which she claimed. Even the representatives of the New York government admitted this to be a fact. Massachusetts could not hesitate to pursue a line of policy which had proved itself so efficient. The Connecticut valley was at that time distinguished for the number of its public men possessed of remarkable practical ability, untiring energies, and solid strength, as well as dignity of character, and having withal a marvelous familiarity with everything which concerned the safety and welfare of Western Massachusetts, to whose interests they were wholly devoted. Their associates in public life in Boston gave them the sobriquet of "The river gods of the Connecticut." Some, and probably all, of these men favored the sending of an early migration to the valley of the Housatonic; among them Colonel John Stoddard, of Northampton, the great New Englander, and Captain Ebenezer Pomeroy, of Southampton, an ancestor of the Pomeroy family of Pittsfield. Nine years of peace had raised up in the Connecticut valley many young men eager for a new advance into the wilderness, and who could put confidence in land titles founded upon a basis which had proved sufficient in the southern colony.

At the May session of the General Court of 1722 Joseph Parsons, with one hundred and fifteen others, and Thomas Nash, with sixty others, all describing themselves as inhabitants of Hampshire county, presented petitions for two townships on the Housatonic River. The court granted these requests to a certain extent by an act signed by Governor Shute, June 30th. This act directed the laying out of two tracts of land, contiguous to each other, on the Housatonic River, the southern boundary of one to lie along the Connecticut line.

John Stoddard and Henry Dwight, of Northampton, Luke Hitchcock, of Springfield, John Ashley, of Westfield, and Samuel Porter, of Hadley, were appointed a committee to lay out these lands, and they were also empowered to admit settlers, grant lots, and manage all the prudential affairs of the settlement. In the spring or summer of 1723, Mr. Porter died and Colonel Stoddard resigned, and in November the court chose Captain Ebenezer Pomeroy to fill the vacancy. The acts of the commission and the details of the settlement under it will be found in the histories of Sheffield, Great Barrington, and other towns whose territory fell under their jurisdiction. It is only proposed to speak here of facts which belong to, or illustrate, the general history of the county, as many of those in this earliest settlement of its territory do. The act of the Gen-



eral Court made no distinction between the signers of the two petitions, but the commissioners were directed to admit to the two townships 120 settlers or inhabitants, either petitioners or others, giving the preference to such of the petitioners as in their judgment would be most likely to bring forward a settlement. The word "inhabitants" seems to be used loosely as synonymous with "settlers." It could not have been intended to include women or farm hands in the 120. Towns and plantations had at that time the power to exclude from their precincts all persons whom they deemed liable to become a public charge, and who had not a legal settlement with them, and the commissioners had the same authority; but the act could not have referred to that. The word "inhabitants" is probably a mere surplusage.

The province asked no payment for the lands granted, to enrich its own treasury, but required that thirty shillings should be paid to the committee for each hundred acres granted, the money so received to be expended in paying the Indians a reasonable sum for their rights in the lands granted, in paying the expenses of the settling commission and of the survey, and in building meeting houses for the two townships. Twenty years later the purchasers of the first forty lots, of one hundred acres each, sold in Pittsfield, paid £30 apiece for them, buying jointly and receiving their lands by lot. The Indian title had been previously extinguished, and the surveys made, but the settlers assumed the obligations to build a meeting house and settle a minister, and they acquired no interest in the lands or the townships not bought by them, while the settlers of Sheffield, when by complying with the prescribed terms they had become "proprietors," had an undivided common interest in all the lands not granted in lots or appropriated by law to public purposes. The Sheffield pioneers received their lands by grant from the province as an encouragement to settle at a point supposed to be dangerous, while the Pittsfield settlers, although their location proved much the more dangerous of the two, purchased of proprietors who had themselves paid a considerable price for it, and chiefly for speculative purposes, excellent citizens and public servants as they were.

For a clearer understanding of much which is to follow here, and still more in the histories of the several towns, it is well to state what was the established policy and practice of the General Court with regard to its grants for the settlement of its western border. Townships were not laid out by a general survey in formal ranges having an approximately uniform shape and size and being numbered in regular order, as was the case when the commonwealth disposed of its wild lands in *Massachusetts*. On the contrary, grants were made of townships of a certain number of acres, five square miles, lying in a prescribed form, sometimes in a prescribed location, sometimes to be selected by the grantees from the otherwise unappropriated lands of the province, the same to be surveyed at the expense of the grantees, "and a plot thereof" returned to the court for confirmation. There was an exception in one case,







In 1735 the General Court voted to open four townships on the road between Westfield and Sheffield, contiguous to one another and adjoining either Sheffield or the township which is now the town of Blandford in Hampden county. These townships were numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4, and are now the towns of Tyringham, New Marlboro, Sandisfield, and Becket, with Monterey, which was set off from Tyringham, New Marlboro, and Sandisfield in 1847, 1851, and 1875. Until this incorporation as towns they were known by their respective numbers as townships. Sometimes, both before and after the adjacent large townships were granted, the General Court bestowed smaller tracts upon different parties.

These grants, large and small, were made for a great variety of considerations; as a reward for public service, to aid the town of Boston in the support of its public schools, to encourage the making of potash by certain persons at Braintree, who were having difficulty in an attempt to make potash, cider, glass, and cloth under one head, as an equivalent for lands granted elsewhere and found not to belong to the province, to aid academies, and finally to persons who paid a fixed price for large tracts, or, as in the case of the Housatonic townships, to promote the settlement of the wild lands of the province and maintain its independence over them, the settlers in this case generally paying only the cost of settlement, including the extinguishment of the Indian title by the payment of a reasonable sum.

In all cases when the Indians had even a doubtful equitable claim to the lands taken they were compensated liberally. It was not uncommon for those wishing grants from the General Court to purchase the aboriginal rights in them before making their petition. But to whatever class of persons or for whatever reasons townships were granted, certain conditions were almost uniformly attached. In those of six miles square, or of corresponding size in other forms, it was provided that sixty settlers should be introduced, each within a specified time, to bring forward the settlement by each erecting a suitable house and bringing into cultivation a certain quantity of land. They were also required to build a meeting house, and settle a learned orthodox minister. One sixty-third part of the land was given in fee to the first minister, one sixty-third for the support of the ministry in perpetuity, and another sixty-third part for the support of schools. In Berkshire the word "ministry" when used in this connection was pronounced *minist'ri*, the final *i* being long, as in *ivy*.

As long as there was dread of Indian outrages or incursions it was provided that the settlement should be made in "a compact, regular, and defensible manner;" but this requirement was complied with in Sheffield by stretching the settling lots for seven miles along the river, and in Pittsfield by laying them out in a narrow strip six miles long; which was perhaps the best that could be done in agricultural views, as the lots, which were practically farms, closely adjoined each other.



It will be seen that the favors received by the first settlers in Berkshire above those which were bestowed upon later comers were not very great. Still there is every reason to believe that their enterprise was prompted in the interest of a shrewd policy adopted by the province, or if not, certainly by "The river gods of the Connecticut," who better deserve the name of statesmen than many who gain fame under that designation in much broader fields. Still the settlement had hardly begun, and the trustful settlers were in the midst of their most arduous labors, when they received a check from the provincial government by an act which, however beneficial it finally proved, impeded the progress of the settlement for a time. For an explanation of this difficulty a few preliminary facts may be recited:

In April, 1724, Konkapot, the chief of the Housatonic Indians, with his usual council, or retinue, of "twenty other Indians," met, at Westfield, Colonel John Stoddard and Captains John Ashley, Henry Dwight, and Luke Hubbard of the commissioners appointed by the General Court, and in consideration of £460 legal money, three barrels of cider, and thirty quarts of rum conveyed to them by deed "all of Housatonaack, alias Weston hook." The large proportion of money to liquor is creditable to both Konkapot and the commissioners, but the boundaries which define the lands sold are to be noted. These are as follows: The Connecticut line on the south, the line of New York on the west, the great mountain on the north, and a line four miles east of the Housatonic River on the east. There is some dispute concerning the great mountain, but Mr. Taylor believes it to be probably Rattlesnake Hill, in Stockbridge. The Indians made a reservation for themselves near the present boundary of Sheffield and Great Barrington.

The extent of territory thus purchased was much greater than that asked for by the petitioners of 1722 or granted to them, and they received no benefit from the overplus. It included all the present towns of Sheffield, Great Barrington, Mount Washington, Egremont, a great part of Stockbridge, West Stockbridge, and Lee, and a small part of Alford. It embraced the whole of the present southwest corner of Berkshire and pushed itself sharply into the angle formed by the Connecticut line and the boundary claimed by Massachusetts but disputed by New York. Almost the whole of the purchase lay, or was claimed to lie, within the patent of Westenhook which, in 1705, had been granted to Peter Schuyler, Derrick Wessels, and others, Schuyler and Wessels having previously obtained a deed of it from the Indians in liquidation of a debt which they were otherwise unable to pay. This patent of Westenhook also covered the towns of Salisbury and Canaan in Connecticut. Planting himself upon these facts or statements Evert Wendell, in behalf of the proprietors of the patent, presented a memorial to the governor and council of Massachusetts, dated April 29th, 1726. After reciting them and adding that ever since 1705 they had paid the annual quit rent of £7, 10s., 5d., he goes on to say that they had "lately met great trouble and disturbance from







the people of Connecticut and Massachusetts, they both pretending that Westernhook will fall into their boundaries whenever the partition line between the province and those colonies shall be perfected and do begin already to settle the same." He then petitions the governor and council not only to stay the present proceedings on the Housatonic, but that, if when the boundary line is fixed in the hands these shall be found to belong to Massachusetts, still the title vested in the proprietors of Westernhook by the New York grant shall be confirmed to them. Mr. Wendell was at fault in classing Massachusetts with Connecticut as a colony. Robbed of her charter as a colony by the infamous Andros, and almost or quite as infamously refused its restoration by William III., she had long before become a province as much as New York: Connecticut escaping the same fate only by virtue of the protecting power of Hartford's Charter Oak. Although in the strictly literal sense of the words the provinces were all colonies, in the political system of that time colonies were not all provinces. There was this material difference between the two, that while the colony chose its own governor, the governor of a province was appointed by the king, and it was in other respects more dependent on the pleasure of the Crown. The words were, however, afterward used as synonymous, especially by loyalists, who wished all colonies to become provinces. In the Declaration of Independence the word colonies is used in its general literal sense, apparently for a reverse reason: as a protest against the infringement by the provincial system upon the rights of the people of the original colonies, and also as describing all the bodies politic which joined in it, as the word provinces would not have done. Deputy Governor William Dummer was then the acting chief magistrate of Massachusetts, and probably neither he nor his council noticed the lapse, or cared for it if they did. At any rate the deputy governor addressed a letter to the commissioners for settling the Housatonic townships, in which he informed them that he had received from the governor of New York the copy of an order in council forbidding the inhabitants of that State prosecuting suits respecting those lands, or making further settlements, "until the line be fixed." He therefore directed the commissioners to take effectual care that the same rule be observed on the part of the inhabitants of Massachusetts.

This order was communicated to the settlers at Sheffield on the 18th of May. The reader must be left to imagine with what emotions such a mandate as this was received, in that opening summer of 1727, by men laboring, as only frontiersmen labor, deep in the forest, to prepare homes for their families; and at the same time, as they believed, doing yeoman service for the province. Men with hearts less brave, and with less faith in God and their country—which country, so far at least as this matter went, was the province of Massachusetts Bay—would have given way at once, abandoned their settlement, and sought homes elsewhere. The pioneers of Berkshire were made of sterner stuff than that and they held their ground. Possibly the commissioners may have given a hint that



there was a wide difference between the governor and council and the Great and General Court as a whole, and that the latter would do its best to maintain both its own position and that of the settlers, but there is only circumstantial evidence to show this. The commissioners could admit no more settlers nor assign any more land to those who had already purchased lots. But it was at least assured that those in possession of lands could no longer be disturbed by legal processes from New York, and that their title was secure until the boundary line was fixed. One chief object of their being in the position they were was to aid Massachusetts, not by arms but by the moral effect of their settlement, in fixing that line where she claimed that it of right ought to be. If that right should be maintained their title would be unquestionable, and it would be a title to a goodly heritage, more secure than any other part of Berkshire from Indian outrage, of more genial climate, and with a larger proportion of fertile soil, besides being upon the highway between the East and the West: a goodly heritage indeed. They probably had not heard of the proposition made by Evert Wendell, Esq., to dispossess them even if Massachusetts should prevail, and they would have laughed at it if they had.

A few of the original grantees or purchasers of lots on the lower Housatonic township sold their rights to others who had the spirit to take their places, and the work of "bringing forward the settlement" went on arduously and steadily, but not with the spirit or the success which it would have done had no untoward circumstances happened, and no threatening cloud of dispossession overhung the settlers; or had the provincial authorities given them the support and encouragement which were fairly their due. The settlement languished.

In 1731, the survey of the boundary line between New York and Connecticut, which had commenced simultaneously with the arrival of the first settlers in Sheffield, was completed, and immediately afterward an informal understanding of the boundary line seems to have been reached by the authorities and people of the provinces of New York and Massachusetts. New York abandoned her claim that the eastern and not the western boundary of Connecticut was the landmark by which the western limit of Massachusetts was to be fixed, and seems to have been glad to accept a line not approaching nearer than twenty miles to the Hudson River: for a New York historian of that date writes: "It was left for the year 1731 to be distinguished by the complete settlement of the boundary disputes—an event, considering the low colonizing spirit and extensive claims of the New England people, of no small importance."

It was also an event of no small importance in connection with the settlement of the extreme western section of Massachusetts, in whose wild lands speculation soon sprang up, as will be shown by the histories of most of the older towns of Berkshire. But the story of the Westernmost Patent first requires some further consideration in connection with the settle-







ment of the boundary question, and also as possibly a factor of curious interest in Revolutionary history.

The patentees of Westenhook were at issue, not only with the province of Massachusetts and its grantees, but with many parties in New York, claiming under grants from that province or rights acquired by occupation and quit rent subsequent to 1705. The portion of territory claimed by the first patentees and afterward found to fall within the limits of Massachusetts, formed, if the bounds quoted are accepted, a large, but far from the major, part of the broad and rich domain to which they asserted their right. In 1772, Henry Van Schaack was supervisor of the district of Kinderhook, and a man prominent in the affairs of the province, and also of high character. In 1772, he wrote a letter to Governor Tryon enclosing a map of that part of the county of Albany lying between the north bounds of the manor of Livingston and the south of the upper part of the manor of Rensselaer which included Kinderhook and several other districts. In 1769, Mr. Van Schaack had written that the inhabitants between the south bounds of Rensselaerwyck could make out at least a thousand men able to bear arms. In his letter to Governor Tryon he says, "The enclosed map was made from actual survey, but it is only intended to give a general idea of the country and the limits of such particular tracts as had occasioned much controversy for a number of years previous." He adds that "the limits of the Westenhook Patent are not laid down, for the obvious reason that no evidence could be procured to establish the boundaries of it, it being the most obscure and unintelligible description perhaps ever known." The claim of the Westenhook patentees covered a large portion of the territory represented on this map, including the district of Kinderhook\* and others near it.

Mr. Henry Van Schaack, as supervisor of the district and a large owner of real estate in it, was deeply interested in the disputed territory, and his brother, Peter, a real estate lawyer of high repute in New York city, appears to have been retained as counsel, besides having a personal interest in some of the later grants which, as he maintained, superseded the earlier ones. In 1773 he addressed a paper, addressed ultimately if not directly to the Legislature, in which he expresses an opinion that the precarious titles to a large portion of its landed estate were a more serious evil to the province than "perhaps even those which are produced by the invasions of our national and constitutional rights by the British parliament."<sup>4</sup>

The courts of justice had long been filled with a succession of lawsuits regarding titles and boundaries, while lands lay in a measure uncultivated, because the tenants in actual possession were deterred from making improvements by the uncertainty whether they would be "preserved" in that possession by the patentee who finally succeeded in his suit. The

\* A District in New York at this time and until after the Revolution, corresponded with a township or town in New England, and with towns in New York at a later date.

† Mr. Van Schaack was afterward one of the most devoted loyalists.



inaccuracies of former times prevented that precision of description which would have prevented these disputes, and Mr. Van Schaack avowed that the great patentees had taken advantage of these uncertainties to ask the indulgence due to transactions in the infancy of the colony, and extend their claims beyond their right. He mentioned two classes who especially suffered from this state of affairs. Many settlers had entered upon lands, supposing them to be vacant in fact as well as in law, but apparently having no other title than that acquired by occupation, the payment of an annual quit rent to the Crown, and the betterment of the lands by their manual labor and expenditure. The other class comprised those who held lands under grants from His Majesty's Provincial Council subsequent to those under which large patentees held the princely domains in which, as they maintained, the later grants were included. This class, Mr. Van Schaack considered the greater sufferers, on account of the labor and expense they had incurred in preferring their petitions. In this connection he made the point that, in order to prevent the very mischiefs which had nevertheless arisen, the (provincial) council upon every application for land, had given an opportunity for all prior grantees, if there were any, to assert their titles, and then, after solemn argument, had determined whether the land petitioned for had or had not been previously duly granted. In this view of the case he thought it "extremely equitable that the claimant who knew of these proceedings and did not assert his title should be barred of his rights, if he had any; it being a reasonable supposition that in his own opinion at the time he had none, but based his later pretensions upon the discovery of circumstances affording color for a new and more extensive claim than he had originally made." Mr. Van Schaack further urged that the encouragement of old dormant claims could never be advantageous to a community, but that the Legislature had always considered the reverse the better policy. He did not charge the courts of law with any wrong doing in receiving the older claims, but conceded that they could do no otherwise. The remedy for the evils enumerated he asked from the Legislature, by whom he thought it could alone be provided. This remedy was the adoption of a mode of settling contested boundaries by commissioners to be appointed by the Legislature "on the request of all parties interested, or if some positively refused then without their consent, as their dissent must be construed to flow from a sense of their own defects in titles." Similar methods, he said, had been used to settle contests between different colonies, nor were instances wanting where "different patentees have submitted to the same equitable mode of decision—a mode preferable to the verdict of twelve ignorant men." These "twelve ignorant men" were what is known to the law as a jury of twelve good and true men of the precinct, and it is difficult to see how jurisdiction in those cases could be taken from them and transferred to commissioners appointed by the Legislature, without the consent of the parties interested, or a violation of a principle of the British constitution so highly prized by the whigs as







the right of trial by jury, little as British or American Tories of earlier days cared for it, when it came in conflict with the royal prerogative or the authority of the representatives of royal authority in the colonies.

Mr. Van Schaack in another part of the paper shows incidentally on which side the royal influence and feeling lay. He says, in effect, that, if the remedy he proposes is refused, the actual possessors of land and the claimants under the later patents will not be the only sufferers. The original great grantees to whom the mischiefs mentioned are chargeable,

"Will share in the disadvantage and perhaps gentlemen of large estates whose equitable conduct has hitherto secured them, may hereafter be involved in the general ruin. The inaccuracies of their patents may expose them to the prerogative construction of vacating the royal grants for uncertainty. Some late instances of the conduct of administration may convince us that the large possessions in this province have already excited their jealousy. However disagreeable this doctrine may be, it certainly has not hitherto been extended too far, nor can we reasonably apprehend so many evils from it as from the present situation of our titles. It can injure but few landholders to an enormous extent, whereas at present the evil extends to hundreds and thousands. Besides should the Crown vacate some grants, it is most likely that in the future grants it would prefer those who by their manual labor had rendered the lands more beneficial, or those who have the authority of later patents more fairly and as openly obtained, and strengthen by the general sense of the county of the vacancy of the land to support their claims."

There is much in this paper which suggests thought upon various ante-Revolutionary topics besides the settlement of Berkshire. The evils of which Mr Van Schaack speaks were undoubtedly real, and the picture of them not overdrawn. Under these same evils, settlers upon Berkshire soil would have labored had it fallen within the limits of New York. Their shadow overhung it until the settlement of the boundary question in 1773, although long before that date its people had much confidence in what the final result would be.

The student of history will inquire with wonder why this settlement was finally made so amicably and with so little apparent opposition from the New York authorities, conceding, as it did, to Massachusetts almost all and practically all that she had ever claimed, and much which at the time of the earliest settlement in Berkshire they seemed determined to hold. The wonder is the greater since, in case of an appeal to the English Privy Council, New York could have supported her claim by as much stronger color of right than that which in other cases had afforded that not over judicial tribunal a pretext for shredding away large portions of the Puritan province, which even at that early day they believed was looking forward to the time when it could assert itself a Puritan commonwealth. An appeal to the Privy Council was wont to go hard with Massachusetts. Mr. Van Schaack's paper gives a hint of what may be the reason that it was not resorted to by New York in this case.

When the patent of Westenhook was granted and when Elbert Wendell, with the aid of the governor of New York, made his appeal to the



governor of Massachusetts, the Schuylers, Wendells, Livingstons, Van Rensselaers, and other possessors of large grants, were high in New York provincial authority and in the favor of the royal government. The jealousy of their large landed estates, of which Mr. Van Schaack speaks, soon sprang up in England or was inspired there by those who were contesting their titles and boundaries in the provincial courts. Probably as a result of this jealousy, and certainly increasing it, these gentlemen early went into opposition, and before 1773 had become pronounced whig leaders. Thus, contrary to what might otherwise have been expected, and contrary to the general rule in other provinces, the great landed proprietors of New York were, at the opening of the Revolution, found among its most zealous supporters. Such threats as those thrown out by Mr. Van Schaack of vacating their entire patents by appeal to the Privy Council, did not tend to diminish their zeal or make them less ready, when the time came, for a declaration of independence. On the other hand the suggestion of royal favors to be expected by smaller tenants in case the Crown should reassume the ownership of forfeited territory, or territory which it declared forfeited, no doubt helped much to make the people of Kinderhook and King's Districts almost unanimously loyalists in 1774 and 1775.

While this state of things existed the provincial government was not likely to be very earnest in supporting the claims of the Westenhook proprietors in the Housatonic valley, and, so long as the Massachusetts boundary was kept twenty miles away from the Hudson River, New York, with its imperial extent of territory, could well afford to spare what she claimed between that line and the Connecticut River, rather than add to her already perplexing controversies another for the purpose of securing what then appeared to be, for the most part, a region of rugged hills and swampy valleys, the best portions of which were already occupied by hardy settlers whom it might be difficult to dispossess. The quit rents of these lands, even if they had been as great as the New York governors had estimated them, would not have justified an attempt to collect them at this cost. Nor, little as the Westenhook proprietors were pleased with the thought of losing the lands which they claimed on the Housatonic, were they in a condition, or perhaps disposed, to make a decided contest for them while great events and local policy were combining to mould that public feeling which engendered and nourished the Revolution.

There was a still more immediate and irresistible reason for maintaining inter-provincial comity, since it was essential to the efficiency of the league which the northern colonies were soon afterward compelled to form in order to save the British empire in America from the absolute destruction threatened by the French and Indian alliance in Canada. For this end patriotism and necessity required the sacrifice of all minor issues.

Whatever may have been the motives which combined to effect it the







long pending boundary disputes between New York and Massachusetts were at last satisfactorily settled without any of the violent proceedings, either in law or by force, which were reasonably to be feared in 1727. The wisdom of the suspension of legal measures at that time, and the mutual forbearance enjoined by the two governors, were thus freely justified. The consequent delay was certainly beneficial to Berkshire in the end. To be sure, the settlement of the two Housatonic townships was retarded for a few years, but it afterward went on with the greater confidence and security. And so of all Berkshire: the boundary line finally agreed upon is much farther west than Massachusetts could have probably obtained by an appeal to force or to the Royal Privy Council: for to the latter arbitration it must finally have come. It is only just, however, to say that the council showed no disposition to meddle in the matter, but advised the parties to settle it between themselves as well as they could; which may be added to the reasons why that course was pursued, and may have been the decisive one. In any view of the case Massachusetts was the gainer, and also Berkshire, which might otherwise very probably have been a part of the State of New York. Massachusetts yielded somewhat of her original pretensions by consenting to a line not to approach nearer than twenty miles to the Hudson River. When the agreement was made this seemed to be of little moment to either party: nor, as compared with the great issues of that day, can it be historically considered of importance. Still the establishment of the course of the Hudson as the basis of the line caused it to deflect northward considerably to the east, and took from Berkshire a strip of land which was supposed to be included in it, and which would have given the county its perfect proportions. The line was run, 1787, by Rev. Dr. John Ewing, a distinguished Connecticut *sagan*, David Ritterhouse, the first American astronomer of note, and Thomas Hutchins, the national geographical general. No exception could be taken to the composition of the board, nor was any taken to its decision. There was a slight error in the running of the line at the south, which was probably caused by a local disturbance of the compass, and which operated slightly in favor of Massachusetts: but northward of the center of the present county, some valuable territory, which had been believed to belong to Massachusetts, and been held under her jurisdiction, was found to come within the limits of New York. In this was included a portion of the Lebanon and Hoosac valleys. Had the line been found to lie as it was supposed to do, Lebanon Springs with their romantic and beautiful vicinity would have been incorporated with the Berkshire region, of which they seem naturally to form a part: the long and narrow town of Hancock would have been divided into two, in the lower of which would have been the Shaker communities now in Hancock and New Lebanon. But speculation on what might have been is unnecessary. In this chapter, while endeavoring to state clearly the original character of the first settlement of Berkshire, the difficulties attending it and their removal, an attempt has been made to foreshadow a



subsequent history of great local interest, and hardly less as forming no small part of the history of the nation.

#### EARLY CUSTOMS.

More than a century and a half have passed since the first settlements in Berkshire county, and changing circumstances have brought with them such changes in many of the customs of the people that one of the present generation can form only an imperfect conception of what some of those customs were.

People are usually slow to adopt those modifications in their habits which changes in their environments render desirable. Like the Wabash man, who persisted in balancing the wheat in one end of his bag by a stone in the other, because his father did so, they follow the beaten track which their ancestors pursued, and often only turn from it when changed circumstances actually compel them to do so.

The march of improvement and progress of invention make slow advances, except in those cases where necessity compels people to follow the one, or loudly calls for the other.

The rude implements and appliances that were in use "when the country was new" were inventions which grew out of the necessities of the times, and were adapted to the circumstances in which the people found themselves. Time wore on, and those circumstances gave place to others. Inventions followed these changes; but in many cases, as in those of the cast iron plough, the grain cradle, and the horse rake, the inventors only lived to see their improved implements scoffed at and derided. Thus have people always done, and thus they will, to a greater or less extent, continue to do. As in the physical world, however, one condition is evolved from another by the slow process of natural selection, so in these cases the fittest are in the end the survivors.

The first settlers in this region came when the primitive forest was growing, not only here but in the country through which they had passed for many miles. The first roads, which were simply widened Indian trails, were then barely passable. Of course they could bring only those articles of household furniture, or those agricultural implements that were indispensable. The first work of the pioneer was to prepare a dwelling place for his family. There were no mills for the manufacture of lumber, and the first houses were necessarily built of logs, fastened by notching at the corners. They were usually from fifteen to eighteen feet square, and about seven feet in height, or high enough to just clear the head of a tall man. Often no floor was at first laid. A fire place was prepared at one end by erecting a back of stones laid in mud instead of mortar, and a hole was left in the bark or slab roof for the escape of the smoke. A chimney of sticks plastered with mud was afterward erected in this aperture. A space of a width suitable for a door was cut out on one side, and this was closed, first by hanging in it a blanket, and afterward by a door made with split plank and hung on wooden hinges. This







door was fastened by a wooden latch, which could be raised from the outside by a string which passed through a hole above it. When the latch string was "pulled in" the door was effectually fastened. The expression used of a hospitable man—"his latch string is always out"—had its origin from this primitive method of fastening a log house door. A hole was usually cut in each side of this house to let in light, and when glazed sash could not be procured greased paper was used to keep out the blasts and snows of autumn and winter. Holes were bored at the proper height in the logs at one corner of the room, and into these the ends of poles were fitted, the opposite ends, where they crossed, being supported by a crotch, or a block of the proper height. Across these poles others were laid, and these were covered by a thick mattress of hemlock boughs, over which blankets were spread. Thus were the earliest bedsteads constructed; and on such a bed many a pioneer couple reposed as sweetly as though "sunk in beds of down." In the absence of chairs, rude seats were made with an axe and auger, by boring holes and inserting legs in "puncheons," or planks split from basswood logs, and hewn smooth on one side. Tables were often made in the same way, and after a time a floor was constructed of these puncheons, with a bare space in lieu of a hearth about the fire place. A few necessary pieces of crockery, or sometimes wooden trenchers, were kept on rude shelves till, after a few years, lumber of which to make a cupboard could be procured.

A dinner pot, a dish kettle, a tea kettle, a frying pan, and a bake kettle constituted the entire stock of iron ware. The bake kettle—a utensil that is now never seen—was a shallow vessel, with legs some six inches in length, so that it could be set over coals on the hearth. It had a cover with edges turned up so that coals could be heaped on it. This was used at first for all the baking of many a pioneer family. The fireplace had, instead of the iron crane with which it was afterward furnished, a transverse pole, called a lug pole, laid across two others, so that it could be moved backward and forward at a sufficient height to prevent burning. On this, "trammels," or hooks, so fashioned that their length could be adjusted, were hung.

This room, thus furnished, served all the purposes of a kitchen, drawing room, sitting room, parlor, and bed room, and, not unfrequently, workshop also, for temporary work benches were erected, and sleds or yokes and many other farming utensils were made and repaired there during stormy days or evenings. The light for such evening work was furnished by the blazing fire, or sometimes by a "slur," which was made by placing a rag for a wick in a dish of "coon's oil," or the fat of some other wild animal.

Here, also, as time went on, were heard the raking of hand cards and the whirr of the spinning wheel; for in those days the cloth for both the summer and winter clothing of the family was homemade, and all the technicalities of the process, from picking the wool to "taking out the



piece," were as familiar to every member of the family as any household word.

At first, before the establishment of cloth dressing mills, the dyeing or coloring, even of all the woolen cloth, was done by the pioneer wives, and after clothieries made their appearance everything except "fulled cloth" was made at home. The properties and the proper method of compounding for different colors, of Nicanunga or Nic-wood, fastie, indigo, madder, copperas, alum, vitriol, etc., as well as the various indigeneous barks and plants, were known to every housewife. The old-dye tub, which is still remembered by the older people, had its place at the side of every hearth, where it was frequently used as a seat for the children in cases of emergency, or when the increase of the family was more rapid than that of chairs. Peter Parley (Mr. Goodrich) calls it "the institution of the dye tub, which, when the night had waned and the family retired, frequently became the anxious seat of the lover, who was permitted to carry on his courtship, the object of his addresses sitting demurely in the opposite corner."

The flax brake, swingling knife and board, and hatchel, are never seen now; and one of the present generation would be utterly unable to guess their uses were they shown him. Then, the pulling and roting and all the details of dressing flax were known to every child; and the process of spinning the flax and tow, weaving and bleaching the different qualities of cloth, and making the thread for all the family sewing was part of the education of every girl. Then, cotton cloth was to a slight extent manufactured in this country, and practically beyond the reach of most farmers. Woolen goods, other than those of domestic manufacture, were seldom seen. A "broadcloth coat" was an evidence either of unpardonable vanity or of unusual prosperity.

It is hardly necessary to speak of the ordinary food of the first settlers, such as hasty pudding, Johnny cakes, or corn pones, the meal for which was ground in a pioneer mill, or wooden mortar; or of the dainties, such as short cakes, mixed with the lye of cob ashes and baked in embers on the hearth, that were set before visitors. The simple and substantial diet of the people then was adopted because circumstances would permit no other. They were too poor to pamper their children with sweetmeats or to stimulate them with tea or coffee; and the incidental result was a degree of robust health such as children in later times do not acquire.

During some years after the first settlement of this region trade was carried on in a manner quite different from the way in which it is now conducted. Now, all produce has a cash market and a cash value; and all the necessities or superfluities that are purchased are reckoned according to the standard. Then, there was not sufficient money in the country to be made the medium of exchange, and trade was carried on almost wholly by what was termed barter. By reason of this nearly exclusive exchange trade mercantile establishments were quite unlike those of the present time. Then, every store was a sort of commercial microcosm.







Every merchant kept dry goods, groceries, crockery, glassware, hardware, dye stuffs, iron, nails, paints, oil, window glass, school books, stationery, rum, brandy, gin, whiskey, drugs, and medicines, ending with a string of etceteras; or "every other article usually kept in a country store." Things were sometimes curiously grouped; as, for example, silks and iron, laces and fish, pins and crow bars, pork and tea, molasses and tar, cotton yarn and log chains, wheel heads and hoes, cards and pitch forks, scythes and fur hats. In exchange for these the pioneer merchants received almost every article of country produce. Coarse grain was often converted into spirits, for distilleries sprang up early. Pork was "packed," feathers, butter, cheese, etc., etc., were received in exchange for goods and sent to market where they were exchanged for goods to be sold in the same way, and so the barter trade was kept up.

Gradually since then trade has changed till it has reached a cash basis, and along with this change has come another important one—the division of business. Now dry goods, groceries, hardware, books, drugs, liquors., etc. etc., are separate branches of business; and produce dealing is separate from all of them.

A no less marked contrast is to be seen in the manufactures of those times and the present. Then, almost every article or utensil that was used was either "homemade" or manufactured at the shops which sprang up to supply the wants of the early settlers. Then, as has been stated, the cloth in which every one was clad was of domestic manufacture. The spinning wheel and the loom were portions of the furniture of almost every house, and clothieries, or wool carding and cloth dressing establishments, were as common as grist mills. Almost every hamlet had its tailor's shop, where the knight of the shears cut the clothing for the people of the vicinity, and to avoid the responsibility of misfits, warranted it "to fit if properly made up." This clothing was made up by tailoresses, or, as the tailors sometimes called them, "she tailors." The trade of a tailoress was reckoned a very good one; for she received for her skilled labor twenty-five cents per day; while the price of housework help was seventy-five cents per week.

Shoemakers' shops were abundant also, though there were itinerant shoemakers who "whipped the cat," as going from house to house with their "kits" was termed. After the establishment of tanneries the people were in the habit of having the hides of their slaughtered animals tanned on shares, and the leather thus obtained was worked up by these circulating disciples of St. Crispin.

The ubiquitous tailor shop has entirely disappeared, and only here and there is to be found a solitary cobbler's sign. Every village has its shoe stores, and the descendants of Abraham vie with each other in supplying the Gentiles with clothing "ferry sheap."

Very early, it was a portion of the business of every blacksmith to make the nails that were required where wooden pins could not be used. Now, an old-fashioned wrought nail is a curious relic of the past; and



even the rivets, bolts, and horse shoe nails that were formerly made on every anvil are now manufactured by machinery, and furnished cheaper than they can be hammered out by the vulcans or their apprentices.

So of almost everything. Where joiners formerly took lumber "in the rough" and did all the work of building a house, now houses are almost, like Byron's critics, "ready made;" for little is required but to put together the parts that are made by machinery. The wheelbarrows, carts and wagons, and even the cradles and coffins that were formerly made in the shops which sprang up when the country was first settled, are now made by machinery, and sold at rates far lower than those at which hand work can be afforded, and the old hand forgeries have gone to decay, or degenerated into simple repair shops.

The question has often arisen whether the invention of labor saving machinery, which has led to this centralization and cheapening of manufactures, has been beneficial or otherwise to the country. It is claimed by many that these inventions are detrimental to the best interests of the people, because, though they cheapen manufactured articles to consumers, they throw out of employment and reduce to poverty large numbers of skilled artisans. To this it is answered that the utilization of natural forces always adds to the wealth of a country; and that those who are thus deprived of employment are, in the end, benefited, because they are driven into more profitable avenues of industry, raised above their former condition, and made partakers of the increased general prosperity.





## CHAPTER V.

### THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS.

By J. E. A. SMITH.

Events in War of 1744-8.—Siege and Capture of Fort Massachusetts.—Rebuilding of the Fort.

THE interval of thirty years' peace which followed Queen Anne's war, cannot strictly be said to have been unbroken. What is known as Governor Dummer's war began in 1722, and continued until 1725; but was carried on almost entirely in the district of Maine, over which Massachusetts had asserted her jurisdiction. It resulted in the conquest of the French Catholic tribes; France at that time not being ready to openly support them, although her emissaries had influenced their passions. The war brought no disaster upon Western Massachusetts, except in adding slightly to the delay in its settlement. The alarm, however, was so great as to lead to the building of Fort Dummer, on the Connecticut, in the present town of Vernon, Vt. The result of the war must have done much to lessen the French power and influence in those which succeeded it.

The thirty years' peace continued thirteen years after the first feeble and disturbed plantation in Sheffield, during which Sheffield, Great Barrington, Egremont, Stockbridge, Alford, Tyringham, and New Marlboro began to be peopled. These towns lay in a body in the southern section of the county, and may have had, in 1744, an aggregate population of five hundred. There is no means of fixing the exact number. During the two or three preceding years preparations had also been made, by clearing the ground and in other ways—short of bringing in families—for the settlement of other new plantations in Pittsfield, Becket, and perhaps other localities.

In the fall of 1743, however, word was received from Colonel Stoddard, the vigilant military commander of the western border, of a new war between England and France, and consequently between their colonies and their respective Indian allies. The embryo settlements on the Housa-



tonic were therefore abandoned, not to be resumed until 1752, while the advance of the towns already settled was comparatively retarded.

The governor general of Canada had the same anticipation of war, and in October wrote to his superiors in Paris communicating his plan of operations when it should be declared. This declaration was not made until March 15th, 1744, and the news was not received by Governor Shirley at Boston for almost two months, while Du Vivier, the French commander at Louisburg, Nova Scotia, received notice of it nearly a month earlier, and, doubtless being forewarned of it, sailing at once with one thousand men, captured the English settlement and garrison at Canso. The utmost alarm immediately spread throughout New England, and was most intense along the northern frontier which was so sadly exposed to French and Indian depredations and slaughter.

As long before this as 1703, when Major De Rouville, with his band of civilized and uncivilized savages, perpetrated the enormities at Moorfield, over the story of which the reader even yet shudders, the suspicion that Indian atrocities had long been instigated by the French, became a certainty, for now they shared in them. Their object was to drive the English colonists entirely from North America, and establish their own colonial empire in their place. To this end they pressed far beyond the bounds of civilized warfare, says Drake in his history of this war, "fitted out hundreds of parties of savages for the express purpose of proceeding to other portions of the English settlements, shooting down poor men while tilling their crops, seizing their wives and children, loading them with heavy packs plundered from their own homes: then driving them before them into the wilderness. These when no longer able to stagger under their burdens were murdered, their scalps torn off and exhibited to their civilized masters; and for such trophies bounties were paid." The French government, of which the authorities and settlers in Canada were but the agents, paid bounties for the scalps of women and children, as the province of Massachusetts did for those of wolves; and it not only fitted out other savage expeditions, but often sent its own soldiers to aid and abet them in their atrocities. This grave charge is not based upon tradition or upon excited statements made by the sufferers, but upon detailed reports of each case, regularly sent to the government in Paris by its agents in Canada, and which may now be read by whoever will. It applies equally to all the French and Indian wars, both before and after 1744, but the essential fact was as well known to the settlers in Western Massachusetts in that year as they are to the historical investigator at Paris to-day. When the news that another of these atrocious wars was about to commence reached the settlers in Berkshire the memory of the last, in which some of them had participated and suffered, was still fresh. They well understood what horrors they had to dread.

In 1744 Canada, with a white population of perhaps 80,000, had about twelve thousand men capable of bearing arms. Of these there were thirty companies of regular soldiers, but numbering only about





thirty men each: that organization being better than a larger for the species of warfare in which they were engaged. Six hundred were Indians, allied with other tribes from which they could call "young braves" whenever their help was needful or welcome; but for the incursions made into New England the French regular troops and the Canadian Indians were more than sufficient. It was only when an invading army approached, that it was necessary to call for aid either from the settlers of Canada or the Indians beyond its border.

Among the Indians were a large number from New England who, when driven from their old homes, had fled to the Canadian tribes and become incorporated with them. They bore with them their naturally intense hatred of their conquerors, with which they inspired their new associates, who hardly needed it, as they had been converted by the Jesuits, and had been taught by them the most bitter detestation of the English heretics. What was of more importance, the New England Indians carried with them a thorough acquaintance with the topography of the regions they had left; and if this did not extend to the Berkshire valley among the eastern Indians, there were enough Mohicans who had voluntarily migrated to Canada to supply the deficiency. There was not a spot in all the exposed sections of New England to which its enemies could not find perfect guides. The settlers in Berkshire had everything to fear from an enemy thus provided and trained, both French and Indians, to rapid and stealthy movements. The Canadian towns, villages, and farms, mostly scattered along the St. Lawrence between Québec and Montreal, were so located, and the habits and conditions of their New England enemies were such that they had nothing whatever to fear except from the regular approach of armies governed by the laws of war. They were free from the perpetual dread of midnight massacre with which the settlers on the Connecticut and the Housatonic made their evening prayers. They tilled their fields in safety, and needed to carry no muskets to them. The Canadian military force, savage and civilized, was also scattered in the same localities in such fashion that it could be rapidly concentrated at any given point from Québec to Crown Point. There was perfect canoe and batteaux navigation from the ocean through the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, the River Richelieu or Sorel, and Lake Champlain to Crown Point. At the southern extremity of that great water highway, and from that point twenty-five miles further south, Crown Point was occupied and fortified by the French in 1731, and became the grand point of organization, preparation, and departure for the raiding parties, large or small, sent out to ravage the northern borders of New England and New York. Trails led from it to the various settlements selected for destruction. All those leading to New England converged in the Hoosac valley. Canoe navigation extended about twenty-five miles southeast from Crown Point, which brought the marauders very nearly to the Hudson River at no great distance from the junction of the Hoosac. Very small parties, carrying canoes overland, could and



did use them by paddling down the Hudson and up the Hoosac. Larger expeditions, where secrecy and surprise were aimed at, left the most of their canoes at the end of canoe navigation, twenty five miles south-east of Crown Point, and taking a few with them for specific use, followed through the woods a trail which crossed the Hudson a considerable distance above the mouth of the Hoosac, which it finally struck at a point some twenty or twenty five miles below North Adams. The war path then led through that part of the Hoosac valley which was east and west, and then passed over the Hoosac Mountain and along the Deerfield River to Deerfield and other places in the Connecticut valley. Thus the great war path of the merciless French and Indian foes passed within, at the most, thirty miles of Stockbridge and thirty-five of Great Barrington, with no natural barriers intervening.

Between the years 1713 and 1744 both the French and English colonies had grown in wealth and population, and approached nearer to each other, although still with a wide wilderness intervening. This increase on the part of the English, as regarded danger from the war, was most notable in the Connecticut and Housatonic valleys.

Except in its magnitude, the war of 1744, as well as that which followed it in 1754, did not essentially differ from that which preceded it. The contest was still for religious as well as political and commercial supremacy in North America: French fleets and armies again threatening the sea coast, French partisan soldiery and the Indian proselytes of the Jesuits again keeping the northern frontier of New England and New York in perpetual dread of midnight surprise and massacre.

The region now covered by Berkshire and Franklin counties was especially exposed to the latter danger, although an enemy successful there would have been a source of danger to Eastern Massachusetts and Northwestern Connecticut. In the latter section, settlements were creeping up very close to those in Southern Berkshire, and for this reason Connecticut aided liberally in building the forts and maintaining the garrisons in Berkshire during this, and still more in the succeeding war.

The alarm which arose upon the approach of the war of 1744 was general. Governor Shirley and the General Court fully appreciated the situation, and did what they could to meet it. The General Court appropriated £100 each for forts at Sheffield, Great Barrington, and Stockbridge about the time of Colonel Stoddard's warning to the settlers at Becket and Pittsfield (Poontonsuck). One was perhaps built at Sheffield and another at Stockbridge, although we have no evidence of it, and there was none at Great Barrington as late as the fall of 1745. The probability is that neither was built.

Governor Shirley raised five hundred men for the defense of the province, of which he sent to the northwestern border two hundred, who were placed under the command of Major William Williams, afterward the most prominent early settler of Pittsfield. Particulars as to Major Williams' life as a civilian are given elsewhere. He had served as an ensign







in the unfortunate expeditions of General Oglethorpe against St. Augustine, and Admiral Vernon against Carthage. In 1743 he had, for a liberal consideration, agreed with the proprietors of the township of Poontoosuc to engage in its settlement. Being a nephew of Colonel Stoddard, and a brother-in-law of Colonel Oliver Partridge, he obtained military position readily, and afterward, showing himself worthy of it, received rapid promotion. The forts, of which frequent mention is made in the history of these wars, and in the archives of Massachusetts, were of two classes. The first were intended chiefly as places of temporary refuge for settlers in their locality in sudden alarms. They were generally built by plantations or by individuals, who expected, and in most instances received, some sort of recognition and support from the General Court, even when they acted without specific authorization. Where they were considered to aid in the general defense some remuneration was made to the builders, and where they merely enabled the settlers to hold their advanced posts of civilization until the return of peace the province contributed to the support of the garrisons. These garrisons nominally consisted of a limited and small number of men, but, by a liberal construction of the appropriation, it was divided among as many as could agree to share it and eke out their subsistence by work in common in the neighboring fields or forests. The enlisted men were subject to military law, but it was not more strictly enforced than the safety of the forts required, and they were rarely if ever ordered into field service without their consent, except as scouts in the approaches to their own posts.

The second class were built and garrisoned by the province to protect itself against incursions and invasions. They were of course as a rule more elaborate and larger than the local places of refuge. Those ordered by the General Court of 1743 in Southern Berkshire would, if they had been built, ranked as province forts, but the small sum appropriated for the construction of each—less than half that estimated the next year as the cost of small Fort Shirley in Heath—would have rendered them of no value except as places of temporary refuge. Fort Massachusetts in the northern Hoosac valley was the only province fort in Berkshire during the war, but that was the most noted and important of any in the province, except one or two on the seaboard; as its story will show.

We have intimations and traditions of local forts in southern Berkshire, but no distinct mention of any except Elisha Noble's, at Sheffield, in 1745, when there must have been at least one other there, and Colonel Burghardt's, at Great Barrington, in 1745; and of these there is only incidental mention without any description.

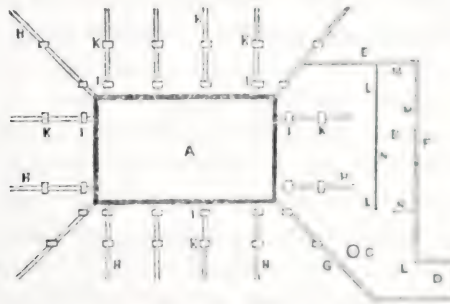
Under the general designation of forts a variety of strongholds were included. Some were merely dwellings stockaded with more or less engineering skill and expenditure of material and labor. Others were solid block houses constructed of roughly squared logs laid close together and perforated with loop holes for musketry. If properly constructed the



upper story overhung the lower and was pierced with loop holes so that assailants attempting to force the doors or set fire below might be properly dealt with. If moderately well garrisoned, as it would be sure to be by the men who fled to it with their families, and supplied with arms, ammunition, water, and provisions, such a stronghold was impregnable against an enemy without artillery and incapable of maintaining even a short siege, as the Indians and the class of French soldiers associated with them notoriously were. The province forts and some of the local ones were of more elaborate and costly construction. The stockades were more formidable, and arranged upon the principles of military science. They often enclosed barracks which were in effect block houses. There were what were called mounts, one at least, and generally more. These were towers with bullet proof walls, if possible, for the purpose of taking observations of the besiegers' movements, and for the use of sharpshooters.

These fortifications we shall find more numerous in Berkshire in the war of 1754, but they were similar in character, and, for the sake of giving a clearer idea of all, we present here a diagram, found in the Massachusetts archives, of Fort Anson, built at Pittsfield in the fall of 1754, by Colonel William Williams, being a fortification of his own residence, which was accepted by the province.

## FORT ANSON.

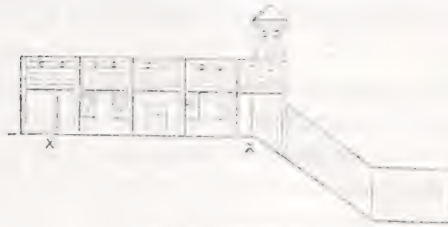


GROUND PLAN.

- A—The house, 40 by 24 feet, nine feet posts, with a gambrel roof, the roof filled with four inch white ash plank.
- B—The storehouse, 35 by 10 feet; the outside M. M. 14 feet high; the inside, at N. 7 feet; double covered with boards up and down, salt box fashion, dropping towards.
- C—The well.
- D—A flanker, to defend the dead wall, E.
- E, G—Dead walls, scoured from the upper works.
- H, H—Large sills, let into the ground, to support the pillars, L, K.
- I, I—Large pillars, let into the sills, just eight inches from the house, in every part, that reach as high as the eaves, and support plates that go all around the house, and are locked at the corners.
- K, K—Large pillars, 10 inches square, 2 feet higher than the top of the plate, supported by the pillars. Each girted to the sill, and cross girted to the plate.
- L, L—The yard, floored all over.

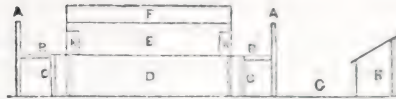






SOUTH PROSPECT.

X, X--Ends of house.



PROFILE FROM THE CENTER, EAST AND WEST.

- A, A--Pillars filled with square timber, let in with a groove from the girt, I, to the top, being 7 feet all round ye house.
- B, B--A platform, 8 feet wide, round the house.
- C, C--Pillars that support the plates that support one side of the platform; the other side being supported by the girts that pass from ye pillars, A, A, sideways.
- D--The lower part of the house.
- F--The space of the Gambo.
- H--The storeroom.
- E--The chamber, or soldiers lodging room.
- G--The yard.
- K, K--Doors, out of which the soldiers may run and cover any or every part of the house.

In regard to strength these forts were all that could be expected of wooden structures; and wood was all that was necessary except from danger of fire. A reasonable number of fairly well armed men could defend them against a host; but there was, after all, a miserable deficiency of arms and ammunition; and, in some striking cases, of men. Their lack of guns and ammunition, articles so essential to the frontiersmen, is among the strongest proofs of the poverty of the Western Massachusetts settlers in money and that which it requires money to buy, however rich in better things. It also marks another strong contrast between the condition of the English settlers in New England and the French colonists in Canada. The French government on the banks of the St. Lawrence, permitted no lack among them of the munitions needful in their predatory warfare. England gave no such aid to her colonists. Ten years later, at the commencement of the next war in 1753, the population of New England and New York was proximately estimated: Massachusetts 207,000, Connecticut 133,000, New Hampshire 50,000, New York 250,000.

The population in 1743 was of course something less than this but at both dates all had a common interest as regarded these wars, and if they had not chosen to waste their revenues in boundary contests with each other they would have been able to furnish the settlements on this northern frontier with the means of self-protection, and with such aid as was occasionally needed in them; leaving the mother country to meet the



fleets and armies sent out by France for conquest, and to furnish the necessary contingent of troops to cooperate with those of the provinces in the conquest of Canada.

The conquest of Canada was early recognized by the leading minds of Western Massachusetts as the only safeguard from the incursions made from it. So long as it remained under French domination they knew well that it would be a menace in peace and a source of cruel danger in war. Both the home and provincial governments shared in this feeling, and all parties in their several positions, and governed by the different conditions which respectively surrounded them, united, or attempted to unite, from time to time between 1744 and 1760, in attempts to make the conquest. The plans for all these expeditions involved the passage of large bodies of troops through Berkshire. Regiment after regiment halted at Great Barrington and Poontoosuck, the site of Pittsfield, for rest and refreshment, and relics of their visits are still sometimes found. Many, who then made a more intimate acquaintance with Berkshire soil than was agreeable, afterward returned to cultivate it as settling farmers, as is proved by the rolls still preserved in the archives of the commonwealth. But yet, until Canada was practically subjected to British rule by the capture of Quebec in the fall of 1759 the French and Indian wars brought terror, danger, and distress, and not population or wealth to Berkshire, although the settlers suffered little from actual destruction of life and property, or from other outrages, compared with what befell their brethren in the Connecticut and upper Hudson valleys, or with what their apparently exposed position led them to fear. But we must return to the beginning, in 1744, of what is known as the Third Intercolonial War. In the spring Captain Williams had raised a company for the expedition against Louisburg, but was not permitted to go.

In the winter of 1744, some months before war was actually declared, the General Court ordered the erection of the line of forts from Coleraine to the Dutch settlements on the Hoosac, subsequently known as Fort Shirley in Heath, Pelham in Rowe, and Massachusetts in North Adams. On the 6th of March Colonel John Stoddard, Oliver Partridge, and Thomas Ingersoll, a majority of the committee appointed to the charge of this work, ordered and empowered Captain William Williams to employ as many men under his command as he deemed necessary in furnishing the fort where Captain Rice had agreed to build it, unless Rice took effectual care to do it to his satisfaction. It appears to have sufficiently advanced to receive a name; but the locality seems to be very nearly the same as that indicated in an order to Captain Williams, July 20th, in which he is peremptorily directed to erect a fort, for which specifications as to size and other particulars are very minutely given. The location pointed out in the order is "about five and a half miles from Hugh Morrison's house in Coleraine, in or near the line the last week under the direction of Colonel Timothy Dwight, by our order." The explanation may be that Fort Shirley being unfinished when the line was





run, the location was slightly changed. In the spring Captain Williams had raised a company for the expedition against Louisburg, but was not permitted to accompany it, his services on the border being considered too valuable. Now, however, the governor believing that the forces there were in extreme need of reinforcement, an express was sent to him, one hundred and fifty miles, with orders to raise recruits as speedily as possible. He received this order a day or two before that of the committee, and in six days reported with seventy five men at Boston, where he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth regiment, commanded by Colonel John Choate. The regiment sailed July 25th. Louisburg had capitulated June 17th; but Colonel Choate returning to Boston, the Eighth remained under the command of its lieutenant-colonel until the arrival of a detachment of British troops from Gibraltar in the spring. Colonel Williams had no opportunity to distinguish himself, but succeeded in winning the favor of General Pepperell, the commander-in-chief. In his command on the western frontier he was succeeded by Captain Ephraim Williams, afterward colonel, and since known to the world as the founder of Williams College. This excellent officer built, and for several years commanded, Forts Shirley, Pelham, and Massachusetts. A minute among the papers of Colonel William Williams shows that Captain Ephraim was commander of the line composed of the forts at Northfield, Fallstown (Bernardston), Coleraine, Forts Massachusetts, Pelham, and Shirley, and also of the soldiers posted at the Collears, Shattuck's, and Bridgeman's, forts, Deerfield, Rhode Town, and New Hampton, from December 10th, 1745 to 1746; "in which time he had three hundred and fifty men under his charge and government." This department thus covered twelve posts, mostly important, and scattered over a wide extent of territory very imperfectly supplied with roads. This task must have required all his energies and abilities, and it was as well performed as any commander could perform it.

The remarkable immunity of Southern Berkshire from the devastation which it dreaded, and which to a great extent befell other localities, must be largely ascribed to another cause than fortification: the Indian mission at Stockbridge, of which an account is given in the history of that town.

In 1744 the number of Indians at the mission was about two hundred. They had made some advance toward civilization and Christianity, but it was of greater consequence that they heartily desired still further progress. Their missionary, Mr. Sergeant, had a potent influence over them, and especially over their leading men, which extended to the branches of the tribe in the neighboring sections of New York and Connecticut, to whom at intervals he ministered zealously and lovingly, and who aggregated probably as large a number as had been gathered at Stockbridge. This influence of Mr. Sergeant and that of his exceedingly well chosen associates in the mission was exercised effectually to preserve and strengthen the traditional friendship of the tribe for the English colo-



nists. Is is a noteworthy historical fact that not a man of them took advantage of the disturbances created by the war of 1744 to inflict injury upon a white soldier or settler, and this although, as we know, they had suffered gross provocation from some not belonging to the neighborhood; and although neither civilization nor Christianity had yet weaned them from savage passions and practices of war. Nor is there a single well authenticated instance of any such injury inflicted during the war of 1754. On the contrary, the Indians on the Housatonic were, throughout both struggles, the faithful and helpful friends and allies of their white neighbors; joining in their warlike expeditions both as scouts and warriors; interposing a barrier between them and the Canadian marauders which the latter did not care to encounter, and rendering still more valuable service as negotiators by maintaining the wavering fidelity of the fierce and powerful Mohawks. A striking instance occurred at the opening of the war. A portion of the Mohawks who had been converted by the Jesuits were styled French, and were relied upon to take up the tomahawk on that side in the war. Another portion, if not quite converted to Protestantism, were under its influences and friendly to the English. All that the English authorities asked of the latter division of the tribe was to remain neutral and prevail upon the French Mohawks to do the same and let the whites settle their own quarrel. There was a report that this desirable agreement had been effected, and, to some extent at least, through chiefs of the Housatonic Indians who had visited the English Mohawks. To render this certain, the Housatonic negotiators induced a deputation of Mohawks to visit Stockbridge, June 5th, 1744, for a conference. The Mohegan chief asked the Mohawk if the report was true, adding, "You well know how that matter is. I desire you to tell me what we are to do in that affair. If you say we must sit still, we will sit still. If we see those Indians help their friends, we must help ours." The Mohawk replied that the report was true. "Those Indians have promised us that they will not meddle with the war, but sit still in peace and let the white people determine the dispute among themselves. We have promised them the same and desire you to join with us in the same peaceable disposition." The agreement was made, but implicitly kept on neither side, although it had its restraining effect for a time. On the 30th of September, 1746, about a month after the capture of Fort Massachusetts, one hundred white men set out from Stockbridge on a scout to the northward, which continued until December 25th. Rev. Mr. Hopkins, who was one of the party, probably a chaplain, does not state to what point the expedition went or what it accomplished, but he does say that it was accompanied by nineteen Indians.

On the 31st of May, 1746, says Drake in his particular history of the war, "Governor Shirley laid before the General Court a letter from Rev. Mr. Sergeant in which he recommended retaliation of a character which the governor did not fully approve, at the same time remarking that, while he was far from any disposition to countenance cruelty or







unnecessary severity, yet whether the practice of the French in this particular case, and the great advantage they have over us unless we make reprisals upon them in the same way, will not justify us therein, is a matter which justifies our deliberation." Mr. Drake adds: "What this instance was, is not now very clear. We are inclined to think that it does not refer to any single atrocity, of which none had occurred in Mr. Sergeant's immediate field, but to the general practice of the French in offering rewards indiscriminately for the scalps of English men, women, and children." The General Court had already offered premiums for the scalps of warriors of certain distinctly named Indian tribes; but the friendly Indians, with whose views Mr. Sergeant was familiar, thought, with their notions of national justice, that the French deserved this retaliation quite as much as the Indians under their influence. Possibly there may be some connection between this recommendation of Mr. Sergeant and the mysterious scout to the northward which started from Stockbridge on the 30th of the next September. A little after midnight, on the 22d of November, 1745, Great Barrington was thrown into great excitement by a report, said to have been brought by two young men, that Stockbridge was beset and taken by Indians. The citizens were soon quieted by a contradiction of the rumor as to the taking of Stockbridge; but the belief that it was in danger continued, and fresh evidence confirmed the report that a large body of Indians were in the vicinity and hourly expected to arrive. Most of the inhabitants fled to fortified places in Sheffield. Elisha Noble's fort was so crowded with women and children that rest, the succeeding night, was out of the question. This alarm and a like one a fortnight later, were entirely without foundation.\*

Up to the 9th of May, 1746, no outrages were committed by the enemy in Berkshire; but on that day, as Sergeant John Hawkes and John Mihils, (or Miles) were riding on one horse near Fort Massachusetts they were fired at and both wounded. Mihils escaped at once to the fort. Hawkes fell from his horse, but as the Indians ran to scalp him, he recovered and presented his gun, which so dampened their ardor that one jumped down a bank and the other got behind a tree and cried for quarter. Hawkes did not understand him, and stood calling to the fort for assistance. In the meantime both Indians escaped. One had discharged his gun; the other dropped his and did not dare to leave his screen to recover it.†

On the 11th of June a party of Indians, falling upon some men who were at work near Fort Massachusetts, shot and scalped Elias Nimmo, and wounded Gershom Hawkes. The rest fled toward the fort, when an ambush rose to cut them off. A sharp fire from the fort saved all except Benjamin Taintor, who was captured, but soon afterward returned. The raiding party killed nearly a hundred cattle belonging to the fort and to Dutch settlers over the New York border; but not without loss to them-

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\* Taylor's history of Great Barrington.

† Drake.



selves. The body of one was found burned on the bank of the river and near it some long cords, supposed to have been brought to lead away anticipated captives.\*

The siege and capture of Fort Massachusetts followed in a few weeks. Of this event, which was, next to the capture of Louisburg, the most notable in the war, we have very full and detailed accounts in the narrative of Rev. Mr. Norton, the chaplain of the fort at the time, in his pamphlet, "The Redeemed Captive," and from other sources.

Fort Massachusetts stood on a spot which is now a beautiful meadow on the south side of the road from North Adams to Williamstown, a little east of the village of Blackinton in the former town. It is at the north base of Greylock, and upon the north side of the narrow valley is a hill which is dignified in Mr. Norton's narrative with the title of "mountain," although in this mountainous region it seems hardly more than a mole hill. It was, however, high enough to command the fort when occupied by sharp-shooters. It would have been difficult in all this valley to find a location not commanded by some hill. The site of the fort is now marked by a fine elm. It consisted of barracks surrounded by a solid stockade of hewn logs planted firmly on the ground with a mount for sharp-shooters and sentinels at least on the northwest corner, if no more. There appears to have been no planking stockade like that represented in the diagram of Fort Anson. No mention is made in Norton's narrative of any cannon, and there was evidently not even a swivel. Mr. Norton left Fort Shirley August 14th. in company with Dr. Thomas Williams, a brother of Captain Ephraim, who acted as a sort of itinerant surgeon to the forts. They had an escort of fourteen soldiers, and, after visiting Fort Pelham, reached Fort Massachusetts on the 15th. The next day Dr. Williams, with his escort, returned to his home in Deerfield, leaving Mr. Norton, who intended to remain for a month. The commander of the fort was Sergeant John Hawkes, the same who was wounded on the 9th of the preceding May, when he had recently returned from captivity among the Indians. He was a brave and judicious officer, although as yet uncommissioned. The ordinary garrison was fifty men; but notwithstanding the warning afforded by the affairs of May and June, it was now reduced to twenty-two, including the sergeant and chaplain, who could fight too when occasion called for it. Of the twenty privates, eleven were very sick with dysentery, and "scarce one was in perfect health." There were also in the barracks, three women, one of them pregnant and near her confinement, and eight children.

When Dr. Williams went off to Deerfield, Sergeant Hawkes wrote to the captain requesting him to speedily send supplies, as he was very short of ammunition and had discovered signs of the enemy. The letter, for some reason, "did not reach the captain seasonably." After the letter was dispatched two men from the fort discovered tracks of the enemy a few miles from it. Between eight and nine o'clock on

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\*Drake.







the morning of Tuesday, the 10th, all the inmates being fortunately within the fort, an army of five hundred French and three hundred Indians, under the command of General de Vaudreuil, appeared before it. This force surrounded the stockade and began "with hideous acclamation" to rush toward it upon every side, firing "incessantly." Sergeant Hawkes ordered his men to hold their fire until the enemy were near enough for them to be sure it would do good execution. It was delivered when they were within twenty rods, and they took themselves to trees, stumps, and logs where they kept up their continuous firing. Some ran from one tree or stump to another to bring them nearer the fort. "This," says Chaplain Norton, "they did in a very subtle manner, running so crooked that it was difficult to shoot at them with any good prospect of success, until we observed that when they came to a stump they would fall down; which, we observing, prepared to catch them as they fell; and this we did with probable success, for they soon left off that method. We saw several fall and rise no more. Among them was the captain of the St. Francis Indians, who was one of the foremost and called upon the others to press upon the fort. Sergeant Hawkes got an opportunity to shoot him in the breast, which ended his days."

General Vaudreuil's standard bearer approached within twenty rods of the fort, and standing behind a tree displayed his banner; but he speedily retreated with a shattered arm. The general also walked up the hill to within forty rods, where he stood giving orders, but moved off when he attracted the notice of the musketeers. The enemy continued this almost incessant fire, and some crept up to within twelve rods. At this point bullets became scarce in the garrison; the new comers, for lack of bullet moulds, not having prepared themselves for a long engagement. Some of the sick men were therefore set to running bullets, and others, having only shot moulds, to making buck shot. This reminded the sergeant to examine his stock of powder, which he found alarmingly small, and gave orders that no more should be used than was absolutely necessary to hold the assailants in check. They fired, therefore, only when they were sure of their mark. "We saw several fall," writes the chaplain, "who, we are persuaded, never rose again." "But it was provoking to see the enemy at almost any hour of the day in open view within fifty and sometimes within less than forty rods. The officers walking about, sword in hand, viewing us, and we, all for that miserable lack of ammunition, not daring to treat their impudence with a single shot." In the fort two men, John Aldrich and Jonathan Bridgeman, were slightly wounded during the day. Toward evening the enemy were busy with their axes and hammers, cutting wood, as it was thought at first, for ladders to aid in scaling the stockade and storming it at night. It turned out that they were intended for faggots to aid in burning it. Sergeant Hawkes made thorough preparation to meet either form of assault, looking himself to each detail. Every vessel which would hold water was filled, and some placed in every room. It seems that the barracks were



built close against the stockades. He cut passages from room to room, strengthened the outer doors, and distributed the men in the several rooms. "While he was thus preparing, he kept two men in the northwest mount, and some in the great house, the southeast corner of the fort, to watch the enemy and keep them back." In the evening the enemy approached nearer the fort than in the daytime, and in greater numbers; but with only the light of their fires to guide there was little encouragement for the garrison to fire upon them, except to prevent them from being emboldened to storm the fortifications. Buck shot were fired, and Mr. Norton indulged a hope that they did some execution, as the enemy afterward complained of their using that sort of missiles, "which they could not have known if they had not felt some of them." Between eight and nine o'clock, what seemed to be the whole army surrounded the fort, and yelled hideously three or four times. Those within thought this to be preliminary to storming; but it proved to be merely a good night to give the garrison pleasant dreams.

After placing guards to prevent the sending of messengers "to New England" to summon relief, they went into camp for the night. Sergeant Hawkes would not order any of his men to make the attempt to carry information of their danger to the east, and none would respond to the inducements which he offered. Retaining a sufficient number with himself to keep guard, he directed the remainder, most of whom were sick and feeble, to get what rest they could till morning; but that was little, as the enemy renewed their outcries frequently, leading always to the belief that they were about to commence the assault. On the next day the enemy recommenced their continuous fire, and some, climbing the hill on the north of the fort, were able to shoot over the stockade into the middle of the parade ground. At eleven o'clock, Thomas Knowlton, who was in the mount, was shot through the head. At noon General De Vaudreuil proposed a parley, and was met by the sergeant and Mr. Norton. He demanded the surrender of the fort "with the offer of good quarter." If his proposition were rejected he would endeavor to take it by storm. Two hours were granted for consideration. The sergeant and chaplain returned to the fort to examine into its means of defense. They found that they had only three or four pounds of powder and not more of lead. They, after prayers to God for wisdom and direction, considered the probability of their being able to successfully resist an assault, which they felt sure would be vigorously made. They knew that their ammunition would last but a few minutes; after which they would be at the mercy of the infuriated foe. Notwithstanding this, the stout old fighting parson writes: "Had we all been in health, or had there been only eight of us that were in health, I believe every man would willingly have stood it out to the last. For my part, I should." But they knew that if the fort was taken by storm, the sick, the wounded, the women, and the children would be mercilessly slaughtered by the savages. There was no alternative, and the sergeant determined to surrender on the best







terms which he could obtain. These were far more favorable than the experience of the times would have warranted him in expecting. They were in brief: 1st, that they should all be prisoners to the French and none given over to the Indians. 2d, that, while captives, the children should all live with their parents. 3d, that all should be exchanged on the first opportunity. In addition, the general promised that they should have all Christian care and charity; that those not sufficiently strong to travel should be carried; that they should all retain their clothing, and that they might leave a few lines to inform their friends what had become of them. The general with his staff entered the fort at three o'clock and raised the French flag. He "spoke comfortably" to his prisoners and promised that the body of Knowlton, which still lay in the mount, should not be mutilated but decently buried.

The gates were closed against all others; but the Indians, finding themselves shut out, undermined the stockade, crept in, opened the gates, and admitted all, so that the parade ground was soon crowded. The Indians shouted when they saw the blood of Knowlton flowing under the mount. The French officers resisted their attempt to reach the body for some time, but it was finally seized, dragged out of the fort, and the head and arms cut off. A young Frenchman skinned and roasted one of the arms and offered it to Daniel Sneed, one of the prisoners, to eat. Mr. Norton gravely informs us that Sneed did not accept the horrible repast. He afterward heard that the Frenchman had the skin dressed and made into a tobacco pouch; which is not unlikely, as it was a common practice with the Indians, and was occasionally followed by whites of the class to which this young brute evidently belonged.

The prisoners were transferred to the French camp and had been there but a little while when Mr. Doty, the general's interpreter, calling Mr. Norton aside, told him that the Indians desired to have some of the soldiers go with them, and begged him to persuade them to consent, saying that he, Mr. Norton, the sergeant, and the families should go with the French officers. He replied that this would be a violation of the terms of the capitulation and of the general's promise, and moreover would throw away the lives of some who were sick or wounded. Mr. Doty acknowledged that all were prisoners to the French, but hoped that some would consent to go with the Indians, who would be kind to them. He pressed the same request upon Sergeant Hawkes, who, with Mr. Norton, submitted the proposition to some of the healthy soldiers, who naturally proved unwilling. Returning to Mr. Doty, Mr. Norton, in reply to his proposition, said, that they would by no means consent that any of their men should go with the Indians, whose manner, as they knew, was to abuse their prisoners and sometimes to kill those who failed in travelling and carrying packs, which some of their men certainly could not do; that they took the general for a man of honor and hoped to find him so, but they thought it little better in him to deliver them to the Indians than to abuse them himself. "For myself," he added, "had I thought that the general



would have delivered any of our men to the savages. I should have strenuously opposed the surrender of the fort; for I had rather died in fight than to see any of our men killed while we had no opportunity to resist." Some further discussion ensued, and the interpreter took his leave. But in a little while some French officers appeared and took away John Perry and his wife and all the other prisoners except Sergeant Hawkes, John Smeed and Moses Scott and the families of Smeed and Scott. Those taken away were distributed among the Indians. The fort was burned as soon after the capitulation as it could be plundered. It was afterward reported that forty five of the French and Indians were killed in the siege, which is not improbable, if Norton's account of the firing is correct, although the small number of the garrison has caused it to be doubted. The loss of the garrison was one killed and two slightly wounded, whose names have already been given.

On the morning of the 21st the army started, with its prisoners, on its return to Canada, "going down the (Hoosuck) river in the Hoosuck road." The treatment of the prisoners was humane, happily disappointing their fears, although even then the march was full of distress. Josiah Reed, who was hopelessly ill when he left the fort, died of his disease on the second day. Before the march began Mr. Norton interceded with the general that John Aldrich, who, being wounded in the foot, could not march, should not go with the Indians. He was told he must, but should not be hurt. "They had canoes a little down the river on which the weak and feeble should be carried." A few hours afterward, he saw Aldrich, not with his brains knocked out, but carried on the back of his Indian "master." On that day he passed John Perry's wife, who said that her strength had failed her, traveling so fast, and complained that the Indian she was with threatened her. He spoke of her to the French officer who said that he would not be allowed to hurt her. Sergeant Hawkes also represented the case to the general, who "talked with the Indian," after which she was treated kindly. The next day her husband, who previously did not know where she was, was relieved of his pack and allowed to help her, which he did, carrying her when she was exhausted. Throughout the march the French carried the women and children who were in their charge, and the Indians conveyed brothers, Simon and John Aldrich and Mrs. Perry for about ten miles down the river in their canoes. Toward evening on the first day, Mrs. Smeed, who was two miles in the rear of the main body, being taken in travail, some of the French who were with her made a seat and carried her forward to the camp where, at about ten o'clock, she was safely delivered of a healthy daughter, who was the next day baptized by the name of "Captivity." The French made a frame like a bier, and covering it with a bear skin and buck skin, carried the mother and her babe along with relays of two men at a time as bearers. Both did remarkably well, although Mrs. Smeed was drenched with rain three days afterward; but she died March 20th.







at Quebec and the infant, "Captivity," May 17th. She was born, lived her little life, and died, in captivity.\*

At evening on the second day the army reached a point about twenty-five miles down the Hoosack. The prisoners had thus far fared well, and the sick improved wonderfully in health and strength; the "enemy" by dint of killing some cattle found in a Dutchman's meadow, having been able to supply them bountifully with fresh meat and broth, "which was very beneficial to the sick." Now, however, Mr. Norton learning that they were about to leave the river for a march of sixty miles through the wilderness, expressed great anxiety for the feeble; but was assured by Lieutenant Dumuz that he need not fear, as the general had promised a reward to the Indians who had charge of them if they should carry them safely through their journey.

Thus they went on until they reached Crown Point, on the 23d, the last twenty-five miles having been in canoes. All the prisoners were much improved in strength and health and had suffered none but unavoidable hardships. They remained until September 3d at Crown Point, where they were treated with hospitable kindness. Mr. Norton lived with the general and half a dozen officers, and thrived wonderfully upon a diet of fresh meat and broth and Bordeaux wine. He was also invited to inspect the fort, which was on a widely different scale from Fort Massachusetts, astonishing him by its size, its massive stone walls, and the number and size of its cannon. The prisoners had also the privilege of worshipping God after their own way, in a room by themselves.

They reached Quebec on the 16th. Here they were treated extremely well for prisoners of war, especially the chaplain, but with the large number of prisoners in the city, not with the exceptional kindness which characterized the march, and which is still remembered to the credit of General Vaudreuil. There were some three or four hundred prisoners, or captives, at Quebec, and great mortality prevailed among them. Four of the soldiers taken at Fort Massachusetts died. Of the women and children, besides Mrs. Smeed and her two sons, Mrs. Scott and her son Moses, two years old, and Mrs. Perry all died of consumption, caused by their exposure during their march as captives. Not one of the three women in the fort survived. What remained of the melancholy party were sent by the cartel, "Vierge de Grace" to Boston, which port they reached August 16th, 1747, having been exchanged or redeemed. Some had already found their way back, according to Drake, by the way of France, the West Indies, and the Wilderness; imprisonment being so irksome that they were willing to accept any change.

In the French account of the sacking of Fort Massachusetts, it is stated that their party "set fire to all the houses and grain within a space of fifteen leagues, with barns, mills, churches, tantries, &c." This is an exaggeration, but the truth and consequent terror was hideous.

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\* Mrs. Smeed's sons, John and Daniel, also both died at Quebec. Her husband was redeemed, but afterward was killed at home.



enough. Sixty Abenakis Indians belonging to the raiders went as far as Deerfield, and returned with seven scalps and two prisoners, one a negro. Another party, or the same, went even as far as Northampton where they plundered and burned houses and killed cattle. Dutch Hoosac was ravaged, and other minor depredations were perpetrated, both on the east and west of Fort Massachusetts. The new settlement at Saratoga was sacked. Of course the presence of so large a hostile force so near them created great alarm in the settlements from thirty to forty miles south. The house of Rev. Mr. Sergeant at Stockbridge was garrisoned, and other measures of defense were taken, but although the enemy must have known of the existence of the settlements, and that except by the presence of the Stockbridge Indians they were practically defenseless, they made no movement toward molesting them. We know of no reason for this except the indisposition of the French and Indians to meet or provoke the enmity of the mission Indians.

In the winter of 1746-7 the General Court ordered the rebuilding of Fort Massachusetts, under the direction of a committee consisting of Colonels Stoddard and Porter, and Oliver Partridge, Esq. General Joseph Dwight had raised a regiment for the expedition against Canada, to which William Williams was assigned as lieutenant colonel. On the 21st of April General Dwight gave to his lieutenant orders covering several points. He was first to learn of the commissioners when they intended to commence the "rebuilding blockhouses west of the Connecticut," of which he supposed Fort Massachusetts would be undertaken first, and also to consult with them as to what would be a sufficient force. Two companies of the regiment and a portion of three others were assigned to him for this purpose, and the General added: "I suppose Captain Ephraim Williams will send all or most of his, if you desire it, who, I think, ought to do their part of this duty." This Captain Williams, who did respond as was expected, was not he of Williams College fame, who had been promoted to the rank of major. In these same orders Lieutenant-Colonel Williams is directed to write to Major Williams to maintain the scout from Stockbridge to Fort Massachusetts; and, if Captain Hunt's company is at Sheffield, he thinks it best that they should march across the woods, on their way to the fort, with Major Williams' men. Lieutenant-Colonel Williams is authorized, while rebuilding the fort, to keep as many men out scouting as he thinks for his safety, and is especially cautioned to have a good scout lying in or near "the road made last fall by the enemy's army to Hoosuck."

These orders show what vigilant guard against lurking savages was at that time thought indispensably necessary, although owing to the detention of General Dwight's regiment the western border was comparatively well protected by province troops. Events soon proved that these precautions were, to say the least, no more than sufficient.

Colonel Williams proceeded promptly in the execution of his orders and by the middle of May the fort was sufficiently advanced to afford







some protection to those within it. On the 15th a guard of 102 was sent to Albany to escort wagons bringing provisions and ammunition from that city to the fort. The guard was under the command of Major Ephraim Williams\* and among the officers was Captain Elijah Williams, of Stockbridge, Lieutenant Graves, and Ensign Ingersoll.

On the 24th another detachment was sent to meet them, which it did twelve miles below the fort, and, after aiding them to cross the river, returned. On the morning of the 25th Major Williams had out five scouts; one of them of Stockbridge Indians under the command of Ensign Konkapot. He had also sent forward squads of men to clear the road for the wagons. The latter, having done their work, went back, "stringing along (contrary to orders)." Their imprudence and disobedience were rewarded by a brisk fire from an ambush of the enemy by which a Stockbridge Indian was killed and ten white men wounded. Though "our men rallied and pushed the enemy like tigers, those serpents got off the Indian's scalp about as big as three fingers." All the rest escaped, except Zebulon Allen of Deerfield, who was supposed to be taken prisoner. The firing alarmed the fort, being the first intimation there of the proximity of the enemy, and a small force sallied out. A smart skirmish occurred near a swamp and within sight of the fort. Seeing that the English were gaining the advantage, the Indians retreated to the swamp, from which they fled in panic when they heard the report of a cannon fired at the fort; affording another curious illustration of the Indian dread of artillery. They confessed to the loss of ten men killed, and left behind them valuable property consisting of "twenty blankets, one coat with frosted buttons, three of a meaner sort, ten pair of woolen stockings, one pair of leather, sixteen gun cases, six muttump lines, four pair of Indian shoes, a looking glass, four shirts, twelve knives, five hatchets, eight petucks, etc., etc." It is clear that this miscellaneous assortment was the fruit of some plundering expedition.

Rev. Mr. Yeomans, in his history of Adams, says, "The people remaining in the fort and the commander with the wagons were much blamed for not affording assistance and were charged with cowardice;" but his account of the affair differs essentially from that which we have given, chiefly on the authority of Drake; and it is certain that neither Colonel nor Major Williams were men to be justly charged with cowardice. The hostile force encountered by the fort builders in this conflict was part of a body, called in some accounts an army, sent out from Crown Point to watch their work and to obstruct it when they had opportunity. They would probably have made no attack at this time had they not supposed themselves discovered by the scouts. The fort having been fin-

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\*Drake gives the name of the commander as "Major William Williams of Stockbridge," which is probably a mistake, as there was no Major William Williams of Stockbridge, and Major Ephraim Williams, being in ordinary command of the scouts and having a company especially adapted to that service, would have been naturally selected for this duty, while Colonel William Williams, who was not of Stockbridge, being in command of the fort, would have naturally remained in it.



ished as to its defenses, and this time not without cannon, although probably of small caliber, nor without flanking stockades. Lieutenant-Colonel Williams transferred the command in a letter which we print as illustrating the general character of works of that kind, and otherwise historically valuable.

"Fort Massachusetts, June 15th, 1747.

"Major Ephraim Williams:

Sir: Intending by the leave of Providence to depart this Fort to-morrow, which, thro' the Goodness of God toward us, is now finished, I must desire you to take charge of it, and shall for the present leave with you eighty men, including officers; which I would have you detain here until the barracks are erected, which I would have you build in the following manner (viz) Seventy feet in length, thirty in breadth seven feet post, with a low roof. Let it be placed within five feet of the North side of the Fort, and at equal distances from the east and west ends. Let it be divided in the middle with a tier of timber. Place the chimney in the center of the east part with two fire places, so as to accommodate those rooms. In the west part, place the chimney, so as 'best to accommodate the two rooms on that part, as if the house were but twenty feet wide from the south, making a Partition of Plank ten feet distant from the north side of the barracks for a store room for the provisions, etc. The timber, stones, clay, lath, and all materials being under the command of your guns, I can't but look upon you as safe in your Business, and desire you to see everything finished workmanlike; and when you have done, You'll be pleased to dismiss Captain Ephraim Williams and his men, and what of my company I leave.

"You'll not forget to keep a scout out east and west, for which the men of your company are so well adapted, and can be of very little value to you in the works.

"I shall not give you any particular directions about maintaining this strong Fortress, or Governing Your Men, but in general advise you to be always on your guard, nor suffer any idle fellows to stroll about. Sir, I can heartily wish you healthy Protection and Smiles of Heaven on all Accounts, and am, with Esteem and Regard, Your Most Humble Servant,

"WM. WILLIAMS"

Major Williams' company were evidently hardy foresters, trained to range the woods boldly yet with skillful caution, and naturally impatient of the labor of builders. On one occasion we shall, however, find some of them impetuous and brave but without much prudence.

On the 1st of October, Peter B——, one of the garrison, was captured near the fort, as he was out hunting; but he returned at the close of the war.

There was no further trouble in the Hoosac valley, or anywhere in Berkshire until the 2d of August, 1748, when a party of French and Indians placed themselves in ambush very near the fort. The violent barking of the garrison dogs led to a strong suspicion of the ambush, and in the afternoon, while Major Williams was consulting with his officers as to the best method for surprising it, several soldiers, without orders, rushed out of the fort and followed the direction indicated by the dogs. A part of the ambush rose and fired upon them. Upon this Major Williams with a strong party sallied out to the rescue. Not being aware of







the part of the ambush which had not risen, he passed them and was in imminent danger of being cut off from his retreat. The men, however, fired several rounds without shelter before retreating, and continued steadily firing as they retired to the fort; and firing effectually, as the enemy were seen to drag away several of their dead. Of the garrison one man, named Abbot, was killed, Lieutenant Hawley was shot through the leg, and Ezekiel Wells had his thigh broken.

One account puts the number of the French and Indians who came to the vicinity of the fort at this time as high as 200; another places it as low as about sixty. It was probably midway between the two statements.

The treaty of peace between France and England was signed at Aix La Chapelle, October 7th, 1748, but it was not received and proclaimed in Boston until the second of the following May. Even after that Indian depredations continued a little while; but there was no trouble on Berkshire soil after the ambush just described.



## CHAPTER VI.

### THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS (*continued*).

War of 1754-1762.—State of the plantation.—Position of the Indians.—Killing of Wampameorse.—Massacre at Stockbridge and Hoosac.—Forts at Poontoosuck.—William Williams.—List of Berkshire soldiers.

THE peace between the English and French colonies in North America which, in consequence of the treaty of Aix La Chapelle, commenced in the spring of 1748, continued only until the spring of 1754; and was treacherous and troubled as it was brief. Nevertheless some important changes occurred during that interval, both in Berkshire and elsewhere on the continent. The settlements at the south, already mentioned, had grown. Plantations had been well established at Poontoosuck (Pittsfield) and rather feebly at New Framingham (Lanesboro). There were a few families at Lenox, and two or three had attempted to settle at West Hoosuck (Williamstown), but withdrew as rumors of war thickened. General Joseph Dwight had made his home in Stockbridge, being master of the new Indian school, and Colonel William Williams was, in public affairs, the leading inhabitant of Poontoosuck. The whole population of the Housatonic valley from Sheffield to Lanesboro, at that time, may be estimated at about eight hundred, exclusive of between two and three hundred half civilized Stockbridge Indians.

The most important change was in the Stockbridge Mission, and consequently to some extent in the disposition of the Indians gathered by it. Mr. Sergeant, who seemed born as well as educated for this field, died July 25th, and his charge was without an installed pastor until August 9th, 1751. Rev. Dr. Hopkins, of Great Barrington, whose interest in the mission was very deep, doubtless, however, kept a close ecclesiastical oversight, in which Senior Deacon Timothy Woodbridge, the teacher of the Indians, and Mr. Sergeant's assistant, was well qualified to aid him; or, indeed, to undertake it alone. Besides this, Jonathan Edwards, the great theologian and metaphysician, who had been called to succeed Mr. Sergeant, spent the winter of 1751 in Stockbridge after January 1st, and returning, was ordained early in that year. Mr. Edwards was a sincere





and earnest friend of the Indians and the zealous defender of their rights and character whenever either was assailed. That he was ardently desirous of their spiritual welfare need not be said to any who have ever read of the man. But he was not so exclusively devoted to the mission work as his predecessor had been. He did not identify himself with the mass of his people by learning or attempting to learn their language, thinking it better that they should learn English. A considerable portion of his time must have been occupied in abstruse study and meditation, for between August, 1752, and April, 1753, he began and completed his world-famous treatise on the Freedom of the Will, and afterward was at times engaged on less noted works. Under these circumstances it was impossible that he could acquire anything approaching that marvelous influence which Mr. Sergeant possessed, and used so much to the advantage both of his red neophytes and the province. This was the more to be regretted as adverse agencies were at work; some intended merely to alienate the Indians from the mission and the Massachusetts people, others to transfer their friendship and alliance to the French, but both finally tending to the latter result. The Dutch liquor dealers over the New York line detested the mission for its interference with their lucrative traffic. With the grave and thoughtful elders of the tribe they could hope to effect little; but they came near to accomplishing their purpose of debauching the young men by furnishing rum free for hidden orgies in the woods, and by specious talk. In this they were aided by Indians of vicious character, but subtle, who had come to the mission from other tribes, and also by vagabonds among their white neighbors; and it must be confessed that the example of some Berkshire settlers of respectable standing was not altogether edifying as the result of Christianity and civilization, however excellent models those selected to reside at Stockbridge in that character may have been.

Some of the Indians from abroad, who joined the mission for a time, were undoubtedly spies and emissaries of the French, and seized every opportunity to foment jealousies. They told the "young braves" in their confidential interviews that in teaching them the arts of peace the white men were preparing to reduce them to slavery, and that in obstructing the use of spirituous liquors they were encroaching upon their national liberties. With the elders they sought to increase dissatisfaction in regard to their lands. All the lands occupied by the whites in Berkshire were freely sold by their original owners for a fair price; but although dissevered by migration and the white men's laws, the Mohegan Indians in Northwestern Connecticut, the River Indians of New York, and the Stockbridge Indians of Massachusetts continued to consider themselves branches of one tribe which made serious complaint as to the occupation of its hill lands without their consent and without payment. Even in Massachusetts some even of the elder Indians were persuaded to believe that in bargaining away their lands an unfair advantage had been taken of them.



While the Indians were in this jealous mood an event occurred in the spring of 1753 which, unhappy at any time, was especially unfortunate at that moment. One Wampaumcorse, a Schaghticoke Indian domiciled at Stockbridge, being on Sugar Camp at Hupbrook, near Tyringham, saw two men, Cook by name, leading horses which, being without horses, he believed to be stolen. Pursuing them and an altercation arising, he was shot dead. The Cooks were arrested, and on trial at Springfield, one was acquitted and the other convicted of manslaughter. This was what the law and the evidence required; but it was not at all satisfactory, according to aboriginal ideas and customs. A surprising ferment arose, doubtless being fostered by the emissaries of whom we have spoken. The Schaghticoke, descendants of Narragansett refugees, were at all times full of murderous resentment, and found means now to strengthen, in the minds of disaffected Stockbridge Indians, the idea that the English designed their destruction. Illogical as this conclusion was it took full possession of some minds or imaginations, as was soon apparent "in the surly behavior of some in whom it had not before been observed," in the stealing of guns, in more frequent intercourse with distant tribes, and the "consorting together of the worst tempered and worst behaved fellows, who kept up a drunken pow-wow in the woods six miles west of West Stockbridge (and consequently in New York on the west side of the Taconics) for several days, with fresh supplies of rum from Kinderhook." Finally some negro slaves revealed a plot, in which they had been invited to join, for the massacre of as many whites as possible and flight to Canada. Upon this the wildest excitement prevailed in Stockbridge, and hardly less in the other settlements in the valley. The authorities were, however, not demented by the excitement, but wisely called the Indians together, informed them of their apprehensions, and endeavored to ascertain what foundation there was for them. It appeared, as the more sagacious citizens had anticipated, that the great body of the tribe were entirely unaware of the plot, "but the thing was real with so many that the authorities looked upon themselves in a worse state than open war.

There was a way out of this. The Indian code in regard to such matters was not, under some aspects, sanguinary. Money would "wipe away blood" as effectually as the halter. The Great and General Court, taking this into consideration, had estimated the life volunteer detective Wampaumcorse at the value of £4, which it voted to be paid to his next of kin. But red tape was invented before the Revolution, and up to the time when the plot was revealed, the six pounds had not been paid. General Dwight and Timothy Woodbridge, Esq., now represented the state of affairs at Stockbridge to Governor Shirley in very earnest language. They said that there seemed to be no pique against any person in particular, but against the English in general for the killing of Wampaumcorse; and in order that the people "might not be exposed to the murderous strokes of savage resentment" they earnestly begged His Excellency to recommend to the General Court an increase of the sum of







£6 which had been granted to "wipe away blood," and that it might be sent by a special embassy, which would add to its efficacy as a peace offering.

The Court, on the 22d of April, voted £20, to be placed in the hands of General Dwight for distribution among the relatives of Wampanucorse; but official delay still continued, and on the 22d of May, Jonathan Edwards, in the deepest anxiety, wrote to Secretary Willard, beseeching his influence that the money which had been granted "Wananbungs, the uncle of the man that was killed," might be speedily delivered. "It was manifestly," he said, "a matter of the greatest importance, not only to the people of Stockbridge, but to all New England, that the Indians should be speedily quieted in this matter. It was evident that the ill influence of that affair had a wide extent, reaching to tribes at a great distance—that it would be a handle of which the French at this juncture would make the utmost improvement." It "seemed to affect the Mohawks no less than the other Indians."

At last the money was paid, and the excitement in a great measure subsided; but it had continued too long not to leave some evil effects. The authorities at Boston do not appear to so much advantage in this affair as General Dwight and Messrs. Edwards and Woodbridge.

During the entire peace the French, in spite of the repeated remonstrances of England, had not reduced their military establishment in Canada, but increased it to thirty-three companies of regular troops, of about fifty men each, and a large addition of ordnance. During the year 1753 France was preparing to make good her claim to the territory of Western Pennsylvania, northern New York, and the Ohio by occupying favorable points and erecting fortifications, often formidable for their solid and skillful construction and the character of the cannon they mounted. But it was not until the 25th of May, 1754, that the first gun of the final struggle of the French and the English for the possession of the northern section of North America was fired by Lieutenant Colonel George Washington, in what was then a far-away western forest. Bancroft tells the incident with poetic vigor: "'Fire!' said Washington, and with his own musket gave the example. That word of command kindled the world into a flame. It was the signal for the first great war of revolution."

France and England were not yet formally at war; but peace existed no longer. The news was, however, slow to reach the settlers in the remote valley of the Housatonic. They shared the general unconsciousness with regard to the condition of affairs, but, until the last of August, appear to have gone on with their work under no special apprehensions for their own safety, especially as the friendship of their home Indians seemed to be re-established on a firmer basis than ever. They were startled from this security when, on the evening of Thursday, August 20th, two Indians, who, with women, had been on a hunting-excursion to the northward, returned in haste with the startling report that on the previous day they



had, in concealment, witnessed the total destruction of Dutch Hoosac, a settlement of Dutch farmers some twenty miles northwest of Williamstown. It was the same that was plundered six years before by a portion of the army sent against Fort Massachusetts. In the present raid seven houses, fourteen barns, and a great quantity of wheat were burned; many horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs were slaughtered; one man was killed and another made captive. The whole loss in property was estimated at £50,000, "York currency," or over \$100,000. The frightened witnesses naturally exaggerated the numbers of the marauding party. A scout from Fort Massachusetts reported that it crossed Lake Champlain in forty-two canoes, carrying five, six, or seven Indians each, which would give a total of less than three hundred. Another official report makes the number of the party only one hundred and twenty-five. The people of Stockbridge on the evening of August 29th and long after, could only take the report which was brought to them. But had the story been given as the most moderate of subsequent statements give it, there would have been quite enough to justify great alarm. As it was, the excitement at once became intense. Messengers were sent in all directions to spread the alarm, and by Saturday night a large body of armed men, many of them from Connecticut, were assembled at Stockbridge. An express on Saturday communicated the news to Colonel Worthington, at Springfield, who made it known to General Dwight, Captains Ashley and Ingersoll, and other gentlemen from the settlements in the neighborhood of Stockbridge, who immediately returned home. Colonel Worthington waited until he had raised a company of seventy men, with whom he reached Stockbridge on Monday, but in the meantime startling events had occurred.

As soon as the people of Connecticut received news of the danger they sent at least 130 horses to Poontoosuck to convey the women and children—and probably the men as well—to places of safety, and on Sunday that plantation was accordingly completely abandoned, its people seeking refuge in the more southern towns. What few settlers there were in New Framingham and Lenox joined in the flight. The people of Stockbridge and the soldiery from abroad mostly attended church, or congregated in the village to discuss the situation. No immediate attack was apprehended. Joshua Chamberlain lived on "The Hill" near the main road to the north, and some two miles from the church. He and his family seem to have considered themselves in perfect safety—as safety then went—until they were suddenly attacked about three o'clock in the afternoon. We have two accounts of the murderous scenes which ensued. The most authentic is probably that given by Colonel Worthington, on the authority of a dispatch from Captains Ingersoll and Ashley. He writes: "There was in the house, Chamberlain, his wife, three children, and another man named Owen. Two Indians only attacked the house, fired immediately upon entering, one at Chamberlain's wife, but missed her; the other at Owen, and shot him in the arm. One immediately attacked Owen, and the other Chamberlain's wife. As Owen was more







than equal to the Indian who engaged him, the Indian called his fellow to his help and both beset Owen: so that Chamberlain's wife escaped, as did her husband coming out of an inner room, and left the two Indians (as we have the account) combating with Owen, who fought them like a man for a considerable time, but was so cut and wounded by them that he was obliged to yield, and died soon after. He was scalped by them, as was also one of the children who was killed. A second child they carried a quarter of a mile: and there, being discovered by a party of Indians coming from Poontoosuck, they knocked it in the head, and, mortally wounding it, left it in the woods where it was picked up by these people." "These people" were a part of the whole population of Poontoosuck, who were fleeing from their homes on the horses sent by neighborly Connecticut. On their way they were repeatedly fired upon by foes hidden in the woods, and some narrowly escaped: especially the heroic first female settler in Pittsfield, Mrs. Solomon Demming. The only person killed was one Stevens, from Canaan, Connecticut, who had been employed as a farm hand by Sylvanus Piercy, whose daughter, according to one account, he had married. At any rate, she was riding on the pillion behind him when he was shot, and she was rescued by Jonathan Hinsdale, the first settler of Lenox. The woods throughout the valley were infested by prowling Indians, as appears from the reports made to the military authorities. On the 6th of September a man who had ventured to return to Poontoosuck was shot at by three Indians, and the bullets penetrated his clothes in several places. "He returned the fire, shot down one, but did not get him." According to local tradition the white combatant, procuring aid, followed the bloody trail of the wounded Indian to the shore of Lake Onota, where it disappeared, although a pebble wrapped in cloth, which had been used to staunch the wound, was found. It was believed that his body was in the lake, into which he had plunged, or been thrown after death, to save his scalp. On the same day two men were fired upon west of Stockbridge. It was probably also at this time that two Indians, called chiefs in tradition, were killed in New Framingham by scouts from Fort Massachusetts. But the settlements were full of reports of this kind—a large proportion of them without foundation.

The panic created by these events is vividly portrayed by Rev. Dr. Hopkins, of Great Barrington, in a letter dated September 3d, the Tuesday after the Chamberlain massacre, and addressed to his friend, Rev. Dr. Bellamy.

"On the Lord's day, P. M., as I was reading the Psalm, news came that Stockbridge was beset by an army of Indians and on fire, which broke up the same assembly in an instant. All were put into the utmost consternation, men, women and children. What shall we do? Not a gun to defend us; not a fort to flee to, and few guns and little ammunition in the place. Some ran one way and some another, but the general course was to the southward, especially for women and children. Women, children and squaws presently flocked in upon us from Stockbridge, half naked and



frightened almost to death; and fresh news came that the enemy were on the plains this side of Stockbridge, shooting and killing and scalping people as they fled. Some presently came along bloody with news they saw people killed and scalped, which raised a consternation, tumult and distress, indescribable. \* \* \* \* Two men are killed, one scalped, two children killed and one scalped; but two Indians seen at or near Stockbridge are all that we certainly know of. Two Indians may put New England to a hundred thousand pounds charge, and never much expose themselves, in the way we now take. The troops that came to our assistance are now drawing off; and what have they done? They have seen Stockbridge, eaten up all their provisions, fatigued themselves, and that is all. And now we are left as much exposed as ever (for I suppose they are all going). In short, the case of New England looks very dark, especially on the frontiers. A few savages may be a terrible scourge to us."

Dr. Hopkins' picture of the fright prevailing at the moment is beyond doubt truthful as far as he had an opportunity to observe, and his gloomy forebodings for the future were natural; but the strong men of Western Massachusetts, than whom few were wiser, more patriotic, brave or more energetic, were already considering measures of defence, and not again during the long war which ensued was the Housatonic valley invaded.

The facts in the Wampanoicose affair, the excitement and plot which followed it, and the correspondence concerning it all led those who were not intimate with the Indians resident at Stockbridge to suspect them of complicity in the massacre on the Hill. The soldiers who came to the relief of the settlers manifested their belief that they were guilty in a manner which excited the indignation of their friends. In a letter to Colonel Israel Williams, October 4th, 1754, General Dwight wrote: "They say, and we are, and too often have been witnesses of the many insults and abuses which they (the Stockbridge Indians) have suffered from the English soldiery—their lives and scalps threatened to be taken, and they called everything but good, charged with the late murders, and actually put into such terror as to not know which way to turn themselves."

General Dwight, after a very careful investigation, was fully convinced that the Mission Indians were not only not guilty of any participation in, or knowledge of, the massacre or other shooting, but were willing, if properly treated, to take part in the war on the English side. Negotiations with them were successfully conducted by General Dwight, and almost all the fighting men of the tribe were organized as a company in the provincial force under their own officers. They were called from their homes and did duty faithfully and zealously whenever their services were most required, either as a company, or, as was often the case, in smaller squads or scouts. They had a white chaplain, Gideon Henley.

An incident which created much feeling among these friendly Indians occurred during the occupation of Stockbridge by the troops which rallied to its relief. Some of the inhabitants of the town, whom Miss Jones







in her history of the town characterizes as "not possessed of a missionary spirit," offered a reward to soldiers going north on scouting expeditions for the scalps of Canadian Indians. None of these being procurable, two vile fellows among them conceived and carried out the idea of exhuming the body of a recently deceased Stockbridge Indian and procuring his scalp as that of an enemy. The trick was discovered and adequately punished, but the indignation of the Stockbridge Indians was extreme.

Later investigations showed that the outrages at Hoosac, Stockbridge, and Poontóosuck were the joint result of instigation by the Schaghticokes, incensed by the Wampanoicose affair and some encroachment upon their lands by the Dutch settlers, and that the expedition received subtle encouragement from the French. In October, Colonel Timothy Woodbridge held a talk with the chiefs of the Canadian tribes who had committed the outrages, and asked them "why they had made war upon the settlements while the kings (English and French) under whom they respectively lived, were at peace?" They replied that "The Schaghticokes had sent to the Orondocks and Onahgungoes to come and revenge themselves for the death of several of their men who had been killed by the English and help them—the Schaghticokes—to Canada." Colonel Woodbridge in his report explains that the Onahgungoes were "inhabitants of the Connecticut valley who had been driven away in previous wars; the same as the Schaghticokes."

By another report it appeared that the Onahgungoes waited upon the governor of Canada and said, "Father, the English have abused us in taking away our lands and driving us from them." The governor replied, "Children, the land is yours, and not mine; you must assert your rights." With the memories of old wrongs rankling in their breasts, neither the Schaghticokes nor the Onahgungoes needed much provocation to engage in hostilities against the English of Massachusetts, and they were not slow to act upon the diplomatic hint of the governor. But, war not having been declared, no French soldiers accompanied the expedition.

Colonel Israel Williams, of Hatfield, afterward in the Revolution, noted for his loyalty to the British crown, and famous still for his correspondence with Governor Hutchinson, was, at the outbreak of hostilities, in 1754, the senior militia officer in active service in Hampshire county, which it must be remembered extended to the New York line. General Dwight and Colonel William Williams were on the half pay list, but had no specific command. They were both civil magistrates. The militia were then as likely to be called into active service at any moment as regular troops are in ordinary times, and as much vigilance was required of their affairs as of any in command of regions constantly threatened by a treacherous enemy. Volunteers were, however, called for specific services at any distance from the home of the militia men.

In the week following the Sunday of the Stockbridge massacre every day brought to the excited people rumors of murder and outrage which,



although in almost all cases unfounded, served to keep alive the terror of the hour. On the 6th of September Colonel Williams wrote, "I never knew, in all the last war, the people under so great surprise and fear." As he did not expect assistance from "the other side of the Province," meaning that portion east of Worcester, and as the Governor was not at Boston, but "at the extreme part of the Province," Colonel Williams did not report the state of affairs on the Housatonic to the provincial authorities until September 6th. On that date the Connecticut troops had all returned home, but those from the Connecticut valley remained until the Stockbridge people could "make some small fortifications." On the 8th he wrote to the secretary of the province that although the settlers at Poontoosuck had removed their families a considerable number of the men had returned and were providing for their defense; a sufficient number of men being posted and good scouts maintained. Col. Williams writes in the same letter that six Indians were discovered at Southampton and thirty men were sent after them. "The Indians seemed enraged—full of fury and malice—pushed on doubtlessly by our inveterate enemy."

Colonel William Williams returned to his house in the eastern part of Poontoosuck and transformed it into the Fort Anson, of which a diagram has been given. The settlers who returned with him made a compact to work together on the lands protected by it, holding the produce in common, and cheerfully agreeing that if anything remained beyond what was necessary for their own support, to give it to the soldiers which might be allowed them. Two years afterward Colonel Williams wrote that he offered to join with the officers sent from the East and from Connecticut with all his strength in fortifying wherever they should select, but none of them would undertake it. Upon this, rather than that no stand should be made, he proposed that if they would fortify with him, he would billet both the inhabitants and soldiers, pay the "broad axe men" three shillings and narrow axe men two shillings a day. They accepted and he built a handsome, strong, and very tenable fort. He states that if he had not done this not a soul would have been left in Poontoosuck. Colonel Israel Williams urged his kinsman to maintain his position "for the protection of the towns and places within." On the 23th of September he wrote him as follows:

"Hatfield, September 1st, 1754.

"Sir: Major Ephraim Williams is returned from Boston, and I have my orders renewed for ye strengthening ye frontiers and raising a greater number of forces for that purpose and scouting, if I judge needful; but no orders for building forts anywhere. The Governor will report (refer?) that matter to ye General Court; but yet he is desirous of having ye people maintain their ground, and has given me sufficient orders to defend the garrisons they build. As I wrote to you heretofore, so I would again urge upon your people to fortify somewhere in ye western part of Poontoosuck. By what I have been informed, Ashley's house is well situated; but if they incline to fortify further west I like it well; and if they go cheerfully and do it, there is no







son to think they will meet the favor of Government; and if they do, the men that are now there must some of 'em guard, while they are about ye work; and, if the inhabitants can supply themselves with provisions Colonel Partridge will supply ye soldiers with necessaries. We have no news from ye enemy.

"I suppose Colonel Partridge will send to you to come in (to Hatfield) when I shall confer with you about some other matters. The Governor has given the command at Fort Massachusetts and Poontoosuck to Major Williams for ye present.

"With proper salutations,

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

"DEATH. WILLIAMS."

In accordance with the plans expressed in Colonel Williams' letter Fort Anson was accepted as a province fort, and was probably somewhat strengthened.

The fort in the western part of Poontoosuck so urgently recommended by Colonel Williams was not built until the omens of fresh irruptions in 1755-6 even more urgently called for it. In 1755 General Dwight reported to Governor Shirley the arrival at Stockbridge of sixty-five Connecticut soldiers, of whom twenty-five were destined for Poontoosuck. As they were sent to take the place of a previous detachment which had refused to work at fortifying, and some of them were "specially enjoined" for shot duty, and, moreover, as Massachusetts furnished them subsistence, he suggested that those who were so enjoined should be employed in erecting a good fortress in the section suggested by Colonel Williams, who particularly designated Ashley Hill as situated best for "ye protection of Stockbridge and for scouting from." In February, 1756, General Dwight again earnestly expressed his opinion that "a fort there if kept well manned would be of the greatest service." It was built at once. Ashley Hill is an eminence of moderate height on the southwestern shore of Lake Onota. It is noted for commanding some of the most beautiful views in Berkshire. Its elevation, overlooking a considerable extent of rolling land in every direction as well as the lake, was favorable to defense, although this advantage was somewhat impaired by the close proximity of the forest, which would conceal an approaching party as effectually as distance. The reader acquainted only with the present avenues of travel would be at a loss to discover what constituted the importance of this location; but it can be easily explained. A marauding party starting from Crown Point for Stockbridge and the towns below would naturally avoid the guns of Fort Massachusetts which commanded the two entrances to the Berkshire valley from the north, and the vigilance of its scouts. They would thus naturally leave the Hoosac River as far west of it as possible, pass down the Hancock valley, cross the Taconics at some of the easy grades from four to six miles northwest of Ashley Hill. Thence the trail west of Lenox Mountain to Stockbridge would be uninterrupted.

The change in the character of the war, which soon afterward made it one of defense on the part of the French, together with the measures taken for the protection of the frontier in the Berkshire valley, prevented



any raid upon the settlements in its southern section. Indeed, throughout the French and Indian wars the only outrages by the enemy in that section were in the brief affair of September, 1754, in which only two Indians are positively shown to have been engaged, with a strong probability of a few others outlying as prowlers in the woods. There is, however, a probably authentic tradition that after the erection of Fort Ashley one of the settlers, being at work about a mile west of it, was fired upon and wounded by three Indians, who were supposed to have crossed the Taconics. He was pursued but reached the fort. A scout was sent in pursuit of his assailants, but they vanished in one of the passes of the mountains, and it was not deemed prudent to follow them.

Two other forts of considerable strength were built by private enterprise in the eastern part of Pontoosuck. In 1756 Charles Goodrich, a man of strong character and considerable wealth, who owned much land in the township, represented that Fort Anson was too far from his clearing (two miles) to afford him any protection, and was promised support for a garrison of eight men if he would build a fortified place at his own expense. He did so, and received rations for eight men, being appointed sergeant, and empowered to keep as many men as he could on that provision.

In 1757 the General Court received a similar petition signed by Stephen Crofoot, Solomon Denning, Ebenezer Holman, Nathaniel Fairfield, Josiah Sackett, Abner Dewey, Ephraim Styles, Simeon Crofoot, Hezekiah Jones, Eli Root, Israel Dewey, Benedict Dewey and David Bush. They stated that before they were obliged to leave their lands on account of the war they had made considerable improvements on them; that the men sent by the Connecticut committee of war had been employed by Colonel Williams in fortifying his own house, which stood about two miles from their lands and was useless for their protection. Some of the petitioners had been at Fort Anson in the pay and subsistence of the province in the hope of a resettlement of the town. Now they desired to build, at their own expense, and only asked that a suitable number of themselves and others—about eighteen in all—might be put under the pay and subsistence of the province and some disinterested person appointed to the command. In January the same parties, together with Moses Miller, Ezekiel Phelps, Benjamin Goodrich, Abner and Israel Dewey, and Jacob Ensign informed the court that they had built "a good and defensible garrison eighty feet in length and sixty in breadth with mounts at the opposite corners, with comfortable and convenient housing within and suitable situated for the settlement." The location of the fort was on the farm of Nathaniel Fairfield, near the crossing of Housatonic River by the east or old road between Pittsfield and Lenox, and consequently very near what in the earliest days of Pittsfield was considered the center of the town. Afterward Colonel Williams and Charles Goodrich, the signers, were the most prominent of its citizens. The location of the fort, its strength, and the character of its garrison, under the command of Nathaniel Fairfield, who







was appointed sergeant, rendered Fort Fairfield of more value than either Fort Anson or Fort Goodrich in preventing raids upon Stockbridge by the valley west of the Lenox mountain range; but the three forts, all within a distance of less than four miles, and all with good garrisons, rendered any expedition down that valley almost impossible.

During the war blockhouses, as a place of refuge for the inhabitants, were built in most of the towns, but they were not looked to as provisions for the general defense. One of the same class was built in New Framingham when the settlement was resumed in 1750. "The establishment on the western frontier," as the garrisons in the forts of that quarter were officially styled, fluctuated in numbers as fear and the spirit of economy prevailed among the provincial legislators. Aside from the garrisons that "alternated" in the private forts, Fort Massachusetts usually had about fifty men, Poontonsuck thirty, besides the Connecticut contingent.

Except in the northern Hoosac valley we find no record of any outrages or injuries inflicted by the enemy during the war upon Berkshire soil, other than those which have been detailed. It seems to have been within a charmed circle; but without "the heathen raged." Passing over what occurred in adjoining regions, the vicinity of Fort Massachusetts was again the scene of slaughter. On the 17th of June, 1756, Benjamin King and William Mesch were killed within a short distance of it. On the 26th thirteen men belonging to the western army, on their way to the fort, and within thirteen miles of it, were surprised by a large body of Indians, eight killed, and the rest captured. On the 14th of July Captain Elisha Chapin, the commander of the fort, with Sergeant Chidesby and his son James, were killed a little west of it, in what is now Williamstown. This completes the sum of the French and Indian atrocities committed on what is now the soil of Berkshire, but the tale as thus told does not indicate the terror justly inspired by the dangers which threatened it from 1743 to 1759.

As we have before said, the regiments raised at the east for the several campaigns against Fort Ticonderoga and Canada all passed through Berkshire. Three of them were commanded by Berkshire men. Ticonderoga, a short distance above Crown Point, was occupied and fortified by the French in 1755. From that point until the close of the Revolutionary war it was recognized by all military authorities as the key of Canada for all invading it from the south, and the key of New England for all hostile forces approaching it from the north. Expedition after expedition was sent against it from New England. The first was under the Earl of Soudan, in 1750, and in this General Joseph Dwight commanded a regiment and a brigade. Colonel William Williams did service in the same and succeeding campaigns. In January, 1753, Sir William Pepperrell, being about to raise a regiment for Sir William Johnson's expedition against Crown Point and Ticonderoga, offered his old friend a captain's commission in it, but it appeared in the letter that,



as in the Civil war of 1861-5, although military fitness was to a certain extent consistent, the commissions depended very much upon the power to raise men by money or personal influence. Colonel Williams became captain, and notwithstanding General Pepperrell's efforts to procure his promotion as he had promised, he remained captain for the three years which the regiment served. The opposition of Sir William Johnson, whom he had offended by his suspicion of the fidelity of the Mohawks and consequent ill treatment of them, keeping him down. For the same offense he was imprisoned at Albany by Sir William's order, but he vindicated himself to the Massachusetts authority. In 1758 he received a colonel's commission from Governor Pownall, and raised a regiment which in camp at Poontoosuck June 5th numbered 906 men. With this corps he took part in Abercrombie's unsuccessful expedition against Ticonderoga; and was in the memorable and sanguinary assault of its works July 5th, 1758, of which he wrote a most thrilling and interesting account.

On the 29th of March, 1755, Major Ephraim Williams, who had up to that time been in command of Fort Massachusetts and other posts in Hampshire county, was commissioned colonel of one of the regiments to be raised by Massachusetts for Sir William Johnson's expedition. He raised a regiment of ten companies, but fell in an ambush September 7th. The story of Colonel Ephraim Williams' life, and of the battle in which he died are of exciting interest and are told in another connection. When Major Ephraim Williams was assigned to the command of the provincial posts of Hampshire in September, 1754, Lieutenant Colonel William Williams accepted the place of commissary, or of sutler, for which he appears to have had a predilection, but not much business qualification; but however little was his personal profit, his "Gentlemen's, Soldiers' and Laborers' account" while building Fort Anson, and his commissary's account for the month of November, both of which are preserved, offer some curious illustrations of fort life at that time in the border. More than nine-tenths of the charges are for spirituous liquors in drams, gills, pints and half pints of rum, bowls or half bowls of punch, and mugs of flip. Now and then there is a charge for powder, cloth, stockings, handkerchiefs, and once or twice for a half sheet of paper; but no mention is made of tobacco in any form. Persons of the lower rank took their drams, officers revelled in punch. Captain Hinman, commanding the Connecticut men, had a special relish for it. He was happy when the commissary got a hundred limes for sixty shillings paid Nathaniel Tyler of Boston. On the 2d of November he was happy and gallant enough to order "a mug of flip for Mrs. Percey," and have it charged. On this same day Colonel Commissary Williams charges "the wife of Deacon Crofoot, a kiss." It reduces the aroma of this entry to find, by the prosaic record, that the deacon's good wife was at this time sixty-six years old. The red man, too, after his work, came in for his share of the fire-water; one indulging in rum to the extent of one gill; another going as far as a mug, a gill, and a glass. Hands were occasion-







ally rendered tremulous by the draughts dispensed, for we find two or three charges for broken tumblers, but after all, formidable as the charges appear drawn out in long array, it all amounted to extremely moderate drinking, as moderate drinking was accounted for more than a century after that date, and indeed still is by a majority of those who call themselves moderate drinkers. It could not have averaged for dram drinkers a gill a day : the "aristocratic" bowl bibulists may have gone further.

On the credit side of the account we find that venison was bought for five cents a pound, and wild turkey for a shilling; they were not considered luxuries, any more than trout which could be had with little labor in catching. A six hundred and forty pound ox was bought of Sylvanus Piercy at twelve pence per pound. Hezekiah Jones got £60 for a pair. The rations of thirty men for a month were estimated at twenty bushels of flour, 420 pounds of pork, 525 pounds of beef, four and a half bushels of peas and twenty-four gallons of rum. The allowance of meat and bread seems to be abundant. Potatoes, like tobacco, were as yet, in the Berkshire valley, a luxury unattainable by the masses. The allowance of rum, less than a gill a day per man, although quite liberal enough, would not even, if added to the amount sold by the commissary, have rendered a man accustomed to its use unfit for duty.

And thus the tedious years of uncertain war wore slowly on from September, 1754, to September, 1759, with little positive advance in the settlement of what is now Berkshire; and yet these were the years which determined its future, and in them the foundations of its future prosperity and glory were well laid.

From enlistment rolls in the archives at Boston it appears that the following enlisted in the French wars from Berkshire county. Most of these were from the town of Sheffield, which was then the most populous town in the county. New Marlboro and Stockbridge were also represented.

In 1756: John Pixley, sergeant; David Watkins, Seth Sheers, William King, Aaron Ashley, Moses Olds, Joseph Corbin, Aaron Burt, Jeremiah Butler, Elisha Stoddard, Benjamin Atwell, Jesse Taylor, Charley Walker, corporal; Matthew Holcum, Drummer, Mathias Mayor, Lawrence Lynch.

In 1757: Micha Hoskins, David Walker, Oliver Wattson, Elija Williams.

In 1758: Asahel King, Samuel Church, Joab Austin, Gad Austin, John Collins, Paul Keyes, Enoch Noble, Josiah Church, John Beals, Samuel Harmon, Zebulon Sacket, Israel Taylor, Noble Smith, Josiah Fox, David Walker, Asahel Bush, John Austin, Ebenezer Forsent, Elisher Spencer, Samuel Goodrich, Joshua Lebaron, Jabez Joslyn, Benjamin Sheldon, Lemuel Covell, Noah Horsford.

In 1759: Samuel Messenger, John Callender, William Burt, Abraham Reed, Thomas Derobon, Anthony Austin, Joseph Callender, Moses Corbin, John Eyles, Thomas Hoxout, John Beals, John Austin, Daniel



Eldridge, Samuel Church, Isaac Collins, Levy Stockwell, John James Frankisham, Thomas Burnham, Joshua Sears, Timothy Brown, Paul Sears, Joseph Gleason, Simeon Sears, Thomas Finn, Elijah Winchel, Pelatiah Winchel, Jacob Bowers, John Van Gilder, Jonathan Old, Hezekiah Winchel, Elizur Banett, Simeon Johnson, John Austin, Thomas Pier, Eleazer Davis, William Armstrong, John Woodkins, Matthew Holcomb, Roger Noble, Malachi Church, John Austin, John Van Gorum, Joel Kellogg, Samuel Shaping, John Kellogg, Solomon Harris, John Shaw, Jedediah Ward, Aaron Adams, Rufus Brown, Nathaniel Shaw, Peter Brown, Moses Cooke, Matthew Meyer, Alexander Swain, Gershom Martindale.

In 1760: John Fellows, captain; James Smith, lieutenant; James Saxton, lieutenant; Israel Taylor, ensign; John Holmes, sergeant; Joseph Marble, sergeant; Ephraim Brookins, sergeant; Alexander Briant, sergeant; Samuel Higgins, corporal; John Higgins, corporal; Thomas Sears, corporal; Benjamin Bartlett, corporal; John Sandford, drummer; Benjamin Bartlett, Hezekiah Winchel, Augustus Drake, Abel Hinds, John Wheeler, Joseph Higgins, Joseph Church, John Welch, John Eldridge, Ashur Saxton, Jonathan Plaisted, Noble Smith, Daniel Gaines, Ashbll Treat, Joseph Dinslow, Benjamin Sacket, Aaron Ashley, Stephen Stockwell, Benjamin Sheldon, John Waters, William Goodridge, James Dewey, lieutenant; William King, ensign; Nathan Beech, sergeant; David Fellows, sergeant; Samuel Church, corporal; Ebenezer Burratt, corporal; John Nichols, corporal; Andrew Barget, Festus Drake, Isaac Fosbury, Martin Castle, William Richardson, Reuben Root, Joseph Denison, John Shavally, Oliver Watson, Nathan Freeman, Zachariah Ferry, Daniel Higby, Daniel Higby, jr., Job Westover, Jacob Fosbury, Oliver Moody, Amos Rising, Simeon Noble, Jesse Rice, Lant Rice, Judah Austin, Elijah Winchell, Derick Smith, Joshua Dickinson, Josiah Church, Jacob Brown, Jonathan Fox, Josiah Church, Jacob Brown, John Joslen, Daniel Paylor, Ephraim Case, Joel Castle, John Smith, Elijah Church, James Welch, Roger Clark, Pennel Pill, Timothy McGill, David Allen, Edward Higby, Joseph Bayly, Ephraim Bayly, Lawrence Lynch, John Barband, Francis Bellville, Paul Sears, Joshua Sears, Timothy Brown, Simeon Sears, Aaron Spaulding, Edward Ransford, Nehemiah How, George Shaw, Thaddens Keyes, sergeant; Ebenezer Hasket, Matthew Mars, John Pixley.

*Indians.*—Muster roll of a company under command of Colonel Joseph Dwight, at Stockbridge in 1755.

Joseph Dwight, captain; Jacob Chocksaunkam, lieutenant; Johnnuk Mtokhsin, sergeant; Robert Nantkauwant, Peter Pophguaneesport, Jacob Naumpeetdunk, Paul Umpeethew, Jonas Naumishoose, William Nootaunkshun, Jacob Wnootaukhawman, Jehoiachim Shauwannauchwhauch, Mottokkaumun, Ephraim Weemaunaujissu, Peter Wauwauwawhant, Timothy Kuuwoopanss, Peter Wau-sauweryeaboc, John Wau-waunpeeguarnunt, Josiah Melantraunweh, Josiah Wamunauwees,







James Chinequun, Joseph Quineacumutt, Jacob Umpeechenook, Solomon Aubannoowannomit, Peter Mannaumauck, John Mannaumauck, Hendrick Quannquancheemitt, Cornelius Wauwanekkeese, Joseph Wauwanchooan, Cornelius Mannauntook, Jacob Antamanchiaut, Jehoiakim Yookum, David Nannaneshuck, Jonas Eliwancomon, Jehoiakim Shawwaununn Tashuque, Garret Kawhewauup, Jehoiakim Jozewawcunn, Jehoiakim Mauthauwanweet, Stephen Tawanweesh, Jeremiah Mawquawampau, Nicholas William, Cornelius Weebucks, John Tawaunamppee, Thomas Sherman, Wawanwamooawan, Thomas Titt, Pischhaasea, Weebucks, Hunkamugg, Abraham Hunkamugg, Puckamunwauut, Horniss Kanhuhqueese, Horniss Kantkeese, Jehoiakim Awooksaumpamet, Hendrick Waumpauxtteat.

*First Foot Company in Sheffield.* — "A list of the men that went out of the first foot company in Sheffield to Fort Edward on the alarm in the year 1757 for the relief of Fort William Henry."

Major John Ashley, Levi N. Austin, Ensign Philip Callender, Sergeant James Smith, Corporal S. M. Loomis, Stephen Dewey, Jonathan Westown, Joseph Noble, Stephen Stockwell, Joseph Taylor, jr., Alexander Gunn, Daniel Gunn, Timothy Palmer, Samuel Churchill, Jonathan Holcomb, Josiah Church, 2d, Samuel Brown, Aaron Ashley, jr., Josiah Fox, Israel Tayler, Joshua Boardman, Daniel Dewey, James Dewey, Noble Smith, Elisher Spencer, John Callender, jr., John Collins, Joseph Callender, Obadiah Bush, Samuel Bush, Jonathan Harluge, Jabez Joslen, Daniel Webster, John Huggins, Joseph Edliston, Roswell Downing, Joshua Lebaron, Joseph Corben, Noah Horsford, John Westover, jr., John Beech, Enock Noble, Abraham Root, Charles Keys, Grosvenor Noble, John Church, David Walker, Ebenezer Trimble, jr., Seth Edliston, John Orl, John Church, jr., Constantine Noble, Daniel Messenger, Benjamin Sacket, Asael King, Zephaniah Austin, Anthony Austin, jr., Abel Harman, Amos Root, Ebenezer Forsent, James Saxton, John Ferris, John Austin, Nathaniel Leonard, Robert Keys, Zenas Hugins, Joseph Marvel, Daniel Boardman, Phineas Smith, Captain Elisha Noble, Peter Noble.

Company at Fort Massachusetts in 1755: Ephraim Williams, capt.; Isaac Wyman, lieut.; Samuel Taylor, sergt.; Edmund Town, sergt.; Gad Chapin, sergt.; Oliver Avery, corp.; James Calloon, corp.; Samuel Catlin, John Taylor, Elisha Higgins, Benjamin King, George Willson, John Kosher, Tyrus Pratt, Noah Pratt, Abraham Bass, Jeremiah Clapin, John Wells, Enock Chapin, Silas Pratt, Ezekiel Foster, John Crawford, John Bourn, Thomas Trait, John Herodol, Micha Harrington, Ezra Parker, Elisha Sheldon, John Bush, Simson Crawford, Josiah Goodrich, John Meechum, Nathaniel Nickells, Garrick Webb, John Gray, Benjamin Simonds, Seth Hudson, Gad Closs, Mayhew Daggett, Henry Sibley, Gideon Warren.

Muster roll of a company at Stockbridge under command of Capt. (Col.) Joseph Dwight in 1755: Joseph Dwight, capt.; Timothy Wood-



bridge, lieut.; Noah Strong, sergt.; Thomas Stephens, sergt.; Zebediah Fox, Daniel Lawrence, Uriah Stevens, Benjamin Stevens, John Frankling, William Fellows, Ichabod Hatch, John Williams, Moses Marsh, Noah Stevens, Samuel Hide, John Horsford, John Wilcox, John Spaulding, Thomas Day, Archibald Humphrey, Samuel Richards, Job Sherman, Robert Joyner, John Dunnica, Jesse Stevens, Daniel Mason, Rufus Lawrence, Moses Brewer, Jedediah Richards, Samuel Ransome, Benjamin Griffiths, John Shivally, John Fenton, Benajah Peck, Jabez Joceline, Joshua Boardman, Jedediah Griffith, John Burgoyne, Jr., Lawrence Linsell, Thomas Fairfield, Samuel Pomroy, Silas King, Noah Burd, John Ryan, William Welch, James Stevens, John Chamberlin, Samuel Browning, Stephen Fenton, John Bag, Zebulon Rowe, Nathaniel Taylor, Benjamin Stevens, Jonas Stiles, John Scott, Simeon Root, Charles Lohland, Reuben Webb, Abijah Davis, Elizur Dickinson, Stephen Ball, Jacob Chapin, Thomas Barker, Ezeriah Willson, Mathew Hutchison, Joseph Payne, Josiah Williams, Josiah Jones, Jr., Joseph Barnard, Elija Brown, Charles Walter, James Seward, Jacob Cooper.

Muster roll of a company under the command of Colonel (Capt.) Joseph Dwight at Poontoosuck in 1756: Joseph Dwight, capt.; Josiah Wright, sergt.; Stephen Crowfoot, William Miller, James Gray, Nathan Tyler, Sylvanus Adams, Isaiah Brown, John Bill, Ebenezer Crowfoot, David Martin, William Stephens, John Brown, Edward Wright, Josiah Webb, Jabez Hide, Sylvanus Piercy, Abner Dewey, Solomon Deaton, Mathias Mayher, Daniel Webb, David Roberts, Nathaniel Fairfield, Simeon Crowfoot, Jeremiah Mawquaw, Abraham Unkamagg, William Nantoukshun, Thomas Titt, Peter Neshumuss, Paukaunhawant Theesary, Azariah Williams, Jonathan Holcomb, Oliver Watson, James Gray.

Muster roll of a company under command of Captain John Worthington, a part of whom were billeted at Poontoosuck early in 1759.

John Worthington, capt.; Noah Strong, lieut.; Joseph Ball, sergt.; James Ball, corp.; James Taft, Pelatiah Bigsby, John Cheeny, Phineas Nash, William Stroud, Jacob Fullam, Henry Coggin, Matthew Blair, Benjamin Tray, Samuel Burr, Aaron Clark, Elisha Bascow, Biliad South, Charles Goodrich, George (a negro), Josiah Walker, Jacob Fudge, Charles Walker, William Wright, David Bush, Zebulon Stiles, Elijah Brown, Jonathan Saylor, John Ward, Peter Brown, Matthew Taft, Peter Gardner, Jr., William Dunlap, Jonas Dyar, John Rutley, Jr., Mortimer Day.

Poontoosuck men under command of Captain Ismael Williams, 1757: Daniel Bridgman, John Prentiss, James Kellbrook, David Wadsworth, Joseph Boden, Zechariah Newton, Samuel Titt, Silas Hemeway, Daniel Leonard, Edward Blackmore, Henry Balcow, Gideon Noble, Charles Goodrich, Jacob Ensign, David Bush, William Wright, Zebediah Stiles, Daniel Goodrich, Jonathan Saylor, George Blackmore, John Morse, Obediah Wherlock, William Parker, Ezedial Kneelton, Ephraim Lyon, Noah Hardy, Abner Wright, John Kelly, Jonathan Whitney, John







Sherman, Joel Thrall, Sylvanus Piercy. 1758: Josiah Wright, Stephen Crowfoot, Simeon Crowfoot, Solomon Deming, Nathaniel Fairfield, David Roberts, Ezekial Phelps, Ebenezer Holman, Charles Goodrich, William Wright, Daniel Goodrich, Zebediah Stiles, Sylvanus Piercy, Jacob Kinsign, David Bush, Jonathan Taylor.

At Stockbridge, 1757: Elijah Williams, Hezekiah Jones, Jacob Kellogg, Samuel Huggins, Samuel Dewey, Aaron Loomis, Luke Noble, Josiah Loomis, John Caloon, John Benjamin, Medad Curtis, Isaac Andrews, Elisha Humphreys, William Roberts, London (free negro), Zachariah Thomas, Seth Hawks, Joshua Hawks, Josiah Wright, Stephen Crowfoot, Solomon Deming, Nathaniel Fairfield, David Roberts, Simeon Crowfoot, Dudley Demming, Timothy Walker.

Probably these men were stationed at Poontosuck and Stockbridge, but it is not certain that all were residents there. Other portions of Captain Williams' company are spoken of as at other places.

Men at West Hoosuck in 1758 and 1759. They were at different times under the command of Isaac Wyman and Seth Hudson:

Benjamin Simonds, Jabez Warren, John Horsford, Josiah Horsford, Isaac Searles, Gideon Warren, William Horsford, Isaac Vanorum, Noah Pratt, Elisha Higgins, Silas Pratt, Derick Webb, Jabez Warner, Jonathan Kilborn, Medad Curtis, Nehum. Smedley, David Santhwick, Isaac C. Allis, Jedediah Smedley, Jonathan Vanorum, Luke Vanorum.

List of officers for ye regiment of militia in ye county of Berkshire in January, 1764:

William Williams, colonel; John Ashley, lieutenant-colonel; Elijah Williams, major.

Company in Great Barrington: Elijah Dwight, captain; Daniel Allen, lieutenant; John Burghart, ensign.

Company in Sheffield: Matthew Austin, captain; Phillip Callender, lieutenant; Aaron Root, ensign.

Another company in Sheffield: John Fellows, captain; William Sheldon, lieutenant; John Spurr, ensign.

Another company in Sheffield: John Ashley, jun., captain; Timothy Kellogg, lieutenant; ———, ensign.

Company in Tyringham: John Chadwick, captain; Isaac Garfield, lieutenant; Jacob Brown, ensign.

Company in Stockbridge: James Gray, captain; Ashbel Woodbridge, lieutenant; Josiah Jones, jr., ensign.

Company in Pittsfield: Charles Goodrich, captain; David Bush, lieutenant; Eli Root, ensign.

Company in Sandisfield: Daniel Brown, captain; William Spillman, lieutenant; Hezekiah Hale, ensign.

Company in New Framingham: Samuel Martin, captain; Moses Hale, lieutenant; Nehemiah Bull, ensign.

Company in New Marlboro: Elisha Wright, captain; Zeams Wheeler, lieutenant; Samuel Wheeler, jr., ensign.



Company in Egremont : Robert Joyner, captain ; Stephen Kellogg, lieutenant ; William Fitch, ensign.

Company in West Hoosuck : Benjamin Simonds, lieutenant ; William Horsford, ensign.

Company in No. 1 : Nathaniel Kingsley, lieutenant ; —— Birchard, ensign.

Company in Stockbridge (Indian) : Jacob Checksunkun, captain ; Solomon Ullunawwaunaumuk, lieutenant ; Robert Nungmunwot, ensign.

Company in Richmond : Elijah Brown, lieutenant ; Israel Dewey, ensign.

Troop of Horse : Israel Stoddard, captain ; Mark Hopkins, lieutenant ; Samuel Brown, cornet ; Ezra Fellows, quarter-master.





## CHAPTER VII.

### BERKSHIRE IN THE REVOLUTION.

BY J. E. A. SMITH.

#### The Era of Provocation and Preparation.

OWING to its frontier position, and the character of its people which was largely due to that position, Berkshire was more actively engaged in the revolutionary struggle which led to American independence, and was subjected to more exciting influences connected with it than any other section of Massachusetts, except the town of Boston and the region immediately surrounding it, which were either fields of military operations or centers of political agitation.

A few words will suffice to show how some of the seeds of revolutionary sentiment were implanted in the county, at its very organization, by great events which, although they occurred so far away as the Court of St. James, and finally affected all the colonies, were at this juncture especially irritating to thoughtful dwellers in the territory which the genius, firmness, and liberality of William Pitt had just freed from a cruel danger which the imbecility and jealousy of previous administrations had suffered to hang over it for nearly a century. The capture of Quebec, in 1759, and the submission of all Canada, in 1760, gave vastly stronger assurance of permanent safety from peril from that quarter than any ordinary treaty of peace could have done. The settlers, and those who desired to settle in Berkshire, notwithstanding the restoration of Louisburg still rankled in their memory, could not believe that the same base policy would be pursued in regard to an acquisition which had cost so much British blood and treasure as had been required for the reduction of Canada. In this they rightly trusted to the character of Pitt. Still their assurance was not perfect until its finalcession by the treaty of 1762. In the meantime great changes took place in the English government. George the second died suddenly October 25th, 1760, and it was ominous of ill to the colonies that while his grandson was riding with the Earl of Bute—whose name soon came to be detested by every true Ameri-



can—the announcement was made to him that at the age of twenty-two he was King George the third.

Although the young king boasted that he was born upon English soil, he carried to the throne, upon which English whigs had placed and sustained his family, German ideas of arbitrary power, and high tory principles as to the royal prerogative, which kept his empire in turmoil through his long reign, burdened it with an enormous debt, and drove his North American colonies to assert and maintain their independence. The first obstacle in his way was the prime minister, William Pitt, who then was more proud to wear, by the popular voice, the title of Great Commoner than he afterward was to be hailed Earl of Chatham.

During the first year of his reign the young sovereign was compelled to tolerate his obnoxious but powerful minister, and in important matters to submit to his judgment, while he took occasion, when he dared, to treat him with slights which amounted to insults. During this interval it was that negotiations for a treaty of peace between England and France were commenced. The fortunes of war had gone everywhere against the latter power, and much of her colonial territory was in English possession. The question was whether she would be required permanently to relinquish Canada or certain West India islands. It foreshadowed the English tory policy for many years that there was a strong party at court which favored the restoration of Canada to France for the significant reason that, once freed from fear of French and Indian inroads, the colonies would advance so rapidly in wealth and population that it would not be long before they entirely threw off their allegiance.

Not so thought, or felt, William Pitt. He "would not weigh the West India Islands against half a hemisphere. \* \* \* The liberties of the English in America were his high delight; he made it his glory to extend the boundaries throughout which they were to be engaged."\*

In October, 1761, yielding to the opposition of the king and the tory aristocracy, he retired from office, but his moral power was still so great that the cession of Canada was insisted upon and secured by the treaty of 1762. His opponents trusted for the establishment of the royal prerogative in America to those repressing and reorganizing measures which, in less than fifteen years, led to the Revolution. They may have been shrewd enough to discover that a conquered province, with a population antagonistic in religion to that of the recalcitrant colonies, would form an excellent base of operations for their control.

All this, if not positively known in Western Massachusetts, was not only shrewdly suspected, but by many intelligent men fully believed. Among the excitable masses it was perhaps exaggerated. Pitt still retained his place in their hearts, but little if at all affected by that acceptance of personal favors from the king which restored his popularity elsewhere.

While these events were in progress the General Court, in May,

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\* Bancroft.





1761, erected that western portion of Hampshire which we have heretofore, for the sake of convenience, called Berkshire, into a new county by that name.

It will be of interest to explain here how the counties and towns of Massachusetts received their names while it was a royal province. The Legislature passed the acts erecting the counties and incorporating the towns, but when submitting them to the governor for his approval, left a blank for the name which it was his prerogative to select and insert. Sometimes the wishes of the inhabitants were consulted, but more often His Excellency was governed by his own feelings or his desire to flatter some English friend or patron. The inhabitants of Berkshire were removed, for the most part, by three or four generations from the ancestor who came over from England, and could have no affectionate memories of localities there, even if they had any love for the mother country as a whole; and wherever English names are found to be given in this period, they may generally be traced to the governor's own motion, although in some instances with the marked approval of the people.

Francis Bernard, the governor in 1761, was born at Brightwell, in the English county of Berkshire, in 1717. He was a man of taste and letters, as well as a politician, and was created a baronet in 1760. The name of Berkshire in Massachusetts is doubtless merely a memorial of his love for his beautiful native shire, to which, in many respects, its namesake now bears a much closer resemblance than could have been anticipated in 1761. It is only a wonder that the governor did not bestow the pretty name of Brightwell upon New Framingham instead of courtting the favor of the Earl of Lanesborough, who, although a privy councillor, was more noted for his jealousy of his beautiful wife, celebrated in court gallantry as "Lovely Lanesborough," than for much official influence. Possibly it was the favor of the countess and not the earl which the courtly Sir Francis courted. The lady had much influence at court.

There can be no doubt as to the origin of the names of the towns incorporated in the same year with the erection of the county. There was an evident propriety in giving the name of Pitt to the first town incorporated on the frontier which he had made safe. He was moreover still prime minister, and at no time was so obnoxious to the government as to make such a compliment displeasing to them; but the contrary. It was equally natural to give to the other town incorporated at the same session of the General Court the name of William Wildman, Viscount Barrington, who had been the English secretary of war from 1756 to 1761, and might reasonably claim a large share in the credit which attached to the conquest of Canada. He was made chancellor of the exchequer in 1761, and by supple compliance retained the royal favor. The prefix "Great" is extremely common in England when two towns happen otherwise to have the same name, and the custom was probably followed here to distinguish the Berkshire town from Barrington in Bristol county, which was afterward found to belong to Rhode Island. The English town of



Barrington is in Cambridgeshire, and may have a parish with the prefix "Great." Viscount Barrington was born the same year with Governor Bernard, and, among other estates, had one from which he took his name of Wildman, in Becket, Berkshire, near the governor's birthplace; which his excellency may have remembered when christening Becket, in our Berkshire, in 1765.

The formation of the new county was in this wise. In the spring of 1761, in accordance with votes passed the preceding year, the several towns and plantations sent Colonel William Williams to Boston as their agent to present to the General Court and advocate their petitions for a division of the county of Hampshire "or the west line of the town of Blandford." On the 13th of April Colonel Williams had leave to bring in a bill agreeable to their wishes. It passed to be enacted and was approved by the governor April 24th. The general boundaries of the county have already been described in the account of its topography.

A great majority of the population came from the Connecticut valley in Massachusetts and Connecticut, but there were not a few from Eastern Massachusetts and even from Rhode Island. As a whole they were a hardy, vigorous people, both men and women inured to frontier life, and many of the former familiar with the dangers and hardships of war. The masses, educated after the New England fashion of the day, were shrewd, intelligent, thoughtful, and perhaps opinionated upon political and religious subjects. Among the higher class there were some who had acquired honorable position elsewhere: many representatives of prominent families in older counties, especially Hampshire and Suffolk, and an unusual proportion of college graduates. Much deference was paid to social as well as official position, but far from obsequious servility. On the contrary, in the expression and defense of political opinions, as well as others, sturdy independence prevailed, and, together with a spirit of equality, increased as the Revolution approached.

Such was Berkshire and such were its people during the years in which the invasion of American rights by the English king and Parliament, and the denunciation of that invasion by able tongues and pens built up by the feeling which made it the first to utterly refuse obedience to the royal courts and the Parliamentary laws. As the earlier measures invading colonial rights began to develop the policy of the British government all parties united in condemning them, and none in their hearts more bitterly cursed their folly and wickedness than those who afterward showed the most devoted loyalty to the king whose perverse will inspired them. All parties, too, with very few exceptions, were at first willing to make trial of humble petition and remonstrance addressed to the Throne, as a means of obtaining redress; some having full faith that these would prove sufficient; others in the hope that, should they fail, the exhibition of their futility would convince the whole people, as it did the great majority, of the necessity of resorting to sterner measures of opposition. Gradually, as remonstrance brought not redress,







but new outrages upon chartered rights, men divided themselves into parties growing more and more distinct in their dividing lines and with even increasing violence of passion.

Powerful influences inclined the more wealthy citizens, those who held or aspired to official position and those allied to leading loyal families elsewhere, not to oppose any overt acts of opposition to the laws enacted by Parliament, even when they acknowledged them to be unconstitutional. Wealth naturally dreads any disturbance of established authority. Under the new laws all offices, except those of a strictly local character, would be at the disposal of the royal governor, as the most important ones had long been. Judge and Colonel David Williams, of Hatfield, the head of the Williams family in Massachusetts, was the most zealous adherent of the king west of Boston, and the highest in favor at Province House. Most of his kindred and their wide connections by marriage adopted his political views. Many of them were in office, and most of them held high social position. Similar connections with other uncompromising loyalists at the east affected other citizens of high standing in Berkshire. Unswerving loyalty to the king had been instilled into the minds of men and women of this class from their childhood; and, hardly less earnestly, reverence for their representative of royalty in the Province House, and this feeling had been sedulously cultivated by the latter. Conscientious scruples, doubtless often sincere, were pleaded by many who held, or had held, offices which required them to take and subscribe an oath, which would now be called "iron clad" by reason of the following clause in it:

"And I do swear that I will bear faith and true allegiance to His Majesty, King George, and will him defend to the utmost of my power against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall be made against his Person, Crown and Dignity. And I will do my utmost endeavor to disclose and make known to his Majesty and successors all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which I shall know to be against him or any of them. \* \* \* And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear according to the express words by me spoken, and according to the plain common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever."

This oath was the same throughout the British empire, and the last sentence in the clause quoted was framed to meet the Jesuitical practice of the English and Scotch Jacobins, who nullified their sacred asseration by mental reservations and unexpressed qualifications. But American loyalists who had subscribed this attestation of unlimited allegiance alleged that it applied very strictly to their own case. American whigs maintained at first that treason to the king lay with those who supported and encouraged him in unconstitutional acts, and that true allegiance required resistance to them. In Berkshire, even when the courts of the king were suppressed, we shall find the "County Congress" affirming the right of King George to reign, and their allegiance to him, while they utterly refused obedience to the unconstitutional acts of Parliament which



were inspired by him and received his sanction. Later in the contest, when they found the king deaf to their remonstrances and goading on his Parliament to new acts of aggression, they considered that, by violating his coronation oath, he had relieved his subjects in America from the obligations of those they had taken, relying upon his royal faith. But the application of the oath as interpreted by the tories proved more than in some exigencies they were willing to admit; for if it required him who had taken it to refrain from rebellion against the king, it no less strenuously and definitely demanded that he should, "to the utmost of his ability," oppose any such rebellion by others, and communicate any information he might gain regarding it to the king's officers. This, so far as sending information to the royal governors and commanders went, was precisely what the radical whigs charged the local tories with doing, and what they emphatically, indignantly, and often falsely denied.

Ever after the granting of King William's charter in place of that ravished from the colony by his infamous predecessor there had been growing up in Massachusetts a provincial aristocracy which gradually supplanted, for the most part, what it did not absorb of a similar class, but made of sterner stuff, which dominated society in colonial times. The old regime held its own, after a fashion, here and there in the eastern portion of the province, but it had few representatives in newly settled Berkshire, and these chiefly among the clergy. The new aristocracy looked to the Province House as its head and center, although it was rarely that any except the most distinguished of its country members were guests of that little vice-regal palace. All the tory leaders of Berkshire belonged to it, and a large proportion of the humbler loyalists were their relatives, or otherwise under their immediate influence. In spite of all the acknowledged wrongdoing of his government they religiously loved "the King and all the Royal Family," were still submissive, and—so far as they dared to be—helpful to all in authority under him in America. Some of them were gratefully proud to have been permitted personally to share a little in that authority. It did not matter much how little. All could not expect the more honorable and lucrative offices; but there was dignity as well as gain in that of justice of the peace; the country magistrate dearly loved the gracious sovereign in whose name he issued writs against poor wretches who were guilty of not being able to pay their debts, or of other petty ill doing.

We do not mean to intimate that all the Berkshire gentlemen who adhered to the king, or the most of them, did so from ignoble or consciously selfish motives, any more than we should disaffirm that all who warmly supported the patriotic cause were impelled thereto by the purest patriotism, unalloyed by any thought of self. A variety of influences, the baser necessarily intermingling with the more noble, determined the course of the majority of those who acted with deliberation and did not abandon themselves to the popular clamor of the hour. But there were some on each side who, governed by fixed principles, took a self sacri-





ficing stand for that which they believed to be required by conscience and best for the country's good, although it might be detrimental to their own fortunes, and would certainly separate them from, if it did not render them odious to, friends whom they valued highly. The public services and upright conduct, after the war, of some of the Berkshire tory leaders gives assurance that, however misled, they were always patriotic at heart; but swayed unconsciously by the circumstances and conditions mentioned—and very consciously by the violent measures of the whigs, which they considered as tending to anarchy—they, until the war was far advanced, pursued a course which could only miserably prolong it and postpone a beneficent and almost inevitable end—an end the alternative of which could be only the triumph of tyranny, with all the horrors which tyrants visit upon those who unsuccessfully resist them. Theirs were not the bold, far-seeing eyes which, piercing the dim, long overhanging cloud of war, could discern the glorious future beyond. What they saw in their visions of the future was the gibbet and confiscation of property for traitors to King George. All who professed themselves loyal to the king were not of the provincial aristocracy or its followers. There were a few sturdy and substantial citizens who often mouthed their toryism pretty loudly, and were sometimes roundly disciplined for it. Generally, however, the committees and others who had charge of the "handling of the tories," as the phrase was, took a lenient view of their offense as a pardonable freak of independent feeling rather than any really deep seated hostility to the "liberties of America." One of them in Pittsfield, who went so far as to burden his three sons with the names of General Burgoyne, Admiral Rodney, and another British commander, was even elected to local office in the very height of the conflict. Nevertheless, some of the tory yeomanry were very active as the conductors on the "underground railroad" of that day, by which British prisoners of war escaped, British spies eluded detection, and messengers, whom the military laws regarded as spies, passed from one British commander to another. In those modes of giving aid and comfort to the enemy, they often executed skillfully commissions given them by leaders less daring than themselves. Even when the whole country was on the alert, while Burgoyne lay at Saratoga, they succeeded in escorting two at least of his messengers to Lord Howe on the lower Hudson; one of them passing through Pittsfield.

All of the provincial aristocratic class in Berkshire did not rank themselves with the supporters of king and Parliament at the beginning of the Revolutionary troubles, or at any other time. Some were among the most active and influential whigs; including several who were connected with the Williams and Stoddard families. A majority of the better educated and wealthier citizens who did not belong to this class were ardent whigs from the first, and the proportion increased rapidly as they were convinced, by argument and the logic of events, that Great Britain had determined on the complete subversion of American liberties. With



the exception of Rev. Mr. Collins, of Lanesboro, and the rectors of the Episcopal parishes in Great Barrington and Lanesboro, who were decided loyalists, all the clergy of the county preached the gospel of liberty clearly and vigorously, although not always in the pulpit. The greater part of the lawyers and physicians took the same side, and some of them very prominently; and the same was true of liberally educated people not in the professions, of whom there were several. With the mass of the people whig sentiment, early predominant, soon became almost universal, and before hostilities actually commenced acquired a fervor which well nigh, in some cases, reached the point of fanaticism, although instances of this kind were common enough among professional men. It must not be supposed that, in any class, this growth of patriotic conviction and sentiment was spontaneous. It was the result of patient investigation accompanied by serious and frequently by powerful thought. Every fact, every principle, all precedents of history at all pertinent to the discussion, and some that were not were brought into it by the pamphleteers, newspaper writers, orators, and preachers upon each side, and were gravely and anxiously scanned both by those who finally decided for the king and Parliament and those who followed the fortunes of the colonies. And, after all, although there was a line which sharply divided parties on the great issues of the day, and although upon those issues men ordinarily acted with their respective organizations, yet individual sentiment ranged through all shades of opinion and feeling, from the loyalty of the most obdurate tory to the fervor of the radical whig who, from the beginning, foresaw and longed for the end in which he finally and triumphantly rejoiced. On the part of both whigs and tories these shades of opinion were chiefly manifested in action regarding the means which they considered were wise and justifiable in striving for the ends which they antagonistically desired, and in addition, on the part of the whigs, in regard to the proper mode of dealing with opponents who were undeniably dangerous to the liberties of North America, and whom yet the more moderate whigs found it difficult to classify either as traitors or alien enemies. Long after Lexington fight many tories and conservative whigs could not realize that the condition of public affairs had changed from that of merely an angry political difference to that of a pronounced and desperate international war. To say the truth the Continental Congress itself was slow to avow it. And even when it was avowed and acknowledged by all there were many who found it very hard to adjust their ideas to it, particularly in regard to their relations with old friends and neighbors.

This general review of the state of parties covers, to some extent, the period both before and during the Revolution. During the Revolutionary period the records of Berkshire town meetings were kept in a peculiar manner that deprives us of much information which we now eagerly desire. The minutes were taken on loose or slightly attached sheets of paper, and at intervals the town voted what should be recorded, what







placed on file, and what destroyed. This was a matter of prudence in dangerous times, and occasionally of personal convenience when sudden and violent changes took place in the attitude of locally influential public men. The early writers of Berkshire history, also, were careful to avoid reference to acts, not only in this period, but in the Shay's Rebellion and in the political discords connected with the war of 1812, which any citizen would find unpalatable. In still further addition to this, the records of several towns have been accidentally burned or otherwise lost, either wholly or in part.

For these reasons, while the general Revolutionary history of the county and its several towns can be told with great fullness and accuracy, specific incidents and acts illustrating it must be gleaned from those whose town meeting records and other archives chance to be preserved.

The people of Pittsfield, in a memorial to the General Court, May 29th, 1776, state correctly and concisely the conduct of all Berkshire up to that time. They say "that they with their brethren in the other towns in this county were early and vigorous in opposing the destructive measures of the British administration against these colonies; that they early signed the non importation league and covenant, raised minute-men and agreed to pay them, ordered their public moneys to be paid to Henry Gardner [the receiver general appointed by the Provincial Congress, and not to Harrison Gray, the treasurer appointed by the governor]; cast in their mite for the relief of Boston, and conformed in all things to the doings of the Honorable Continental and Provincial Congresses."

With regard to most of the earlier encroachments upon American rights, Berkshire men, on account of their inland position, could act only by resolutions and remonstrances; and these gave no uncertain sound. The stamp act came home to them, and their opposition to it was so general and determined that Colonel William Williams, the judge of Probate, found it expedient to be sick and not attempt to hold a court in which he must either obey the law and require the use of stamps or disregard it and dispense with them. On the 14th of June, 1766, he wrote to the register, Elijah Dwight, of Great Barrington, "My state of ill health has prevented my attention to almost any sort of business; but the stamp act being repealed, and being some better, I desire you to disperse the following advertisement as soon as may be among the several towns." The advertisement announced Probate Courts in Stockbridge, at the house of Mr. Benjamin Willard, innholder, in April, June, August, and October; and in Pittsfield, at the house of Deacon James Easton, innholder, in December and February. Both the judge and register were at that time attached to the Province House loyal party.

For some years after the date of this letter, however, the people of Berkshire maintained a prudent and conservative course, although firm in their determination to resist taxation without their own consent through



their representatives. Pittsfield was, perhaps, finally the most radical in its revolutionary action of all the Berkshire towns, but as late as January 19th, 1774, its people, "alarmed at the extraordinary conduct of a number of disguised persons at Boston on the evening of the preceding 16th of December," to wit, the famous Boston tea party, held a special town meeting, in which they adopted a series of instructions to their representatives in the General Court, prepared by a committee consisting of William Williams, Woodbridge Little, David Bush, Eli Root and John Brown. Little was a very decided and ardent loyalist, Williams and Bush were on the same side, but very moderate; Root and Brown were exceedingly earnest whigs. Still, in the instructions to Captain Charles Goodrich, the representative and a moderate whig, they unanimously express the town's condemnation of the destruction of the tea as "unnecessary and highly unwarrantable, every way tending to the subversion of all good order and of the constitution; as we determine that the king himself hath two superiors; his heavenly king and his own laws." "At the same time," say they, "we are as much averse as any of the patriots in America to being subjected to a tax without our own free and voluntary consent, and shall, we trust, always abide by that principle. And, was there not an alternative between the destruction of the tea and the people's being saddled with the payment of the duty thereon we should not have the like reason to complain; but as far as we live in the country, judge otherwise."

After reciting that the owners of the tea having sustained great damage, and that they would doubtless seek compensation for it, and that the inhabitants of the province had before been made to pay large sums for like unjustifiable acts on the part of individuals not duly authorized thereto—that is, the Boston rioters who had destroyed the property of obnoxious officials—they proceed:

"We do therefore enjoin it upon you that by all prudent ways and means, you manifest the abhorrence and detestation which your constituents have of the extraordinary and illegal transaction, and also of all the other public transactions which have been leading to, or in any degree countenancing, the same; and especially that you do not directly or indirectly consent to any proposals which may be made or any measure which may be taken, to render your constituents chargeable to any payment or satisfaction which may be required to be made to the owners of said tea, as we have determined never to pay or advance one farthing thereto; and if your assistance is called for, that you exert yourself to the utmost of your power to bring the persons connected with the destruction of said tea, and other such like offenders to condign punishment; and it is the expectation of this town that you strictly adhere to these their instructions as you value their regard or resentment."

The committee, no doubt fairly representing public opinion as a whole in the county as well as the town, were unanimous in signing these instructions, and apparently harmonious in framing them, although there are indications in qualifying phrases that they were the result of a compromise. Yet it was but a very few months before the course of events







rent the members as widely asunder as it was possible for men living in the same community to be : each party looking upon the other as traitors : on the one hand to the king, on the other to the country. Nor was it long before patriots even " living so far in the country " as the Berkshire Hills, learned to regard the making of a tea kettle of Boston Harbor, like their brethren on the coast, as a necessary and splendid achievement of bold, true spirits. Even when the instructions quoted above were adopted there was an advanced section of the Berkshire whigs led by Rev. Thomas Allen, the Pittsfield pastor, vigorously aided by Elder Valentine Rathbun, who had, two years before, established a Baptist church in Pittsfield), which was as radical as at that time it well could be, and which soon gave tone to the whole revolutionary sentiment and policy of the county, and held control of it until the adoption of the State constitution, in 1781, and which was very powerful long after that, although there was always a respectable conservative minority of the whigs, consisting of such men as Theodore Sedgwick, of Stockbridge, Capt. Charles Goodrich, of Pittsfield, Gen. Fellows, of Sheffield, and the like, and although they had the sympathies of the majority of the General Court, they had little influence in county politics, and some of them, Captain Goodrich at least, was at one time treated almost as severely as the Tories.

In the meantime, between the period of hesitation and hope, indicated by the Pittsfield " instructions," and that when some good and true whigs began to fear that their radical brethren were going too far, there came an interval when there was neither time for hesitation nor room for hope, except in patriotic arms. In this interval the gloom of indignation against the tyranny which the king and Parliament combined to impose upon the province, and the evident pressing necessity of resisting it at once, at any cost and in all its details, united all Massachusetts men who were not ready to forever " prostrate themselves at the foot of the throne," however he who sat upon it might spurn them. News of the infamous Boston Port Bill reached Berkshire by the middle of May, 1774. Early in June the Boston committee received, and at once sent through the province, news of the almost certain passage by Parliament of the acts " for the better regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay " and " for the impartial administration of justice in the same."

These acts involved not only an entire abrogation of the charter of the province, but the ravishing from its inhabitants of all the dearest rights of British citizens. Under the new laws councillors created by royal mandamus and the superior judges appointed by His Majesty's governor of the province, held office during the king's pleasure. All other officers, judicial, executive, and military were appointed by the governor independently of the council, and, except the sheriffs, who could only be displaced by consent of the councilmen removable by the same sole authority. The governor's appointing power—a grievous fountain of corruption even with the checks provided by King William's charter—now combined with the new right of removal, was fearfully augmented.



Town meetings, the strongholds of freemen, which had become the dread and detestation of the royalists, were now permitted to be held only for the election of municipal officers and representatives in the General Court, and their actions were restricted to the mere casting of the necessary ballots. Special meetings were allowed only with license first had of the governor, designating what matter alone they might consider. The selection of jurors previously made, as now, by the selectmen, with the ratification of the legal voters, was transferred to the king's sheriffs. Persons accused of treason against the Crown, or, like the soldiers implicated in the Boston massacre, with murder committed in the support of the royal authority or the orders of the king's officers, were to be transported to England for trial. Every safeguard of liberty was abrogated. Nothing whatever in the perverted constitution interposed between the people's rights and the sovereign's will; for the House of Representatives was reduced to utter impotence by the governor's inexhaustible prerogative of prorogation, dissolution, and unqualified veto, and by the independence of its appropriations of himself and the judges, who, by still another innovation received their salaries directly from the crown.

Had the people of Massachusetts submitted, even for a time, as some of their previous leaders advised, to laws like these, they would have accepted absolute and probably perpetual despotism on the part of their rulers, and servitude on their own part. But the news that their enactment was even probable aroused not only the men of Massachusetts but of all the colonies, so that on the 20th of June the *Boston Gazette* was able to announce "the aspect of affairs highly favorable, \* \* \* the whole continent seeming inspired by one soul, and that a rigorous and determined one." Never was newspaper paragraph penned with grander significance than that which was concentrated in these few words. Had the statement which it makes been otherwise than true—had "the soul of the whole continent" been submissive and cowed rather than "rigorous and determined"—the world's history would have been turned backward, or, at the least, long checked in its advance toward its "better future." The freed peoples of the world thank God to day that this newspaper assertion was true; and we can claim, with convincing evidence, that of no part of "the continent" was it more fully and strikingly true than of the county of Berkshire, which was selected by the Massachusetts patriots to be the first to utterly refuse submission to the unconstitutional acts of Parliament. As the Massachusetts towns received information of the coming attacks upon their liberties they, almost without exception, declared their determination to resist and maintain them, but not often without a few dissenting voices. The counties held "congresses" of deputies from their towns to consider "the alarming state of public affairs" and, in language generally bold and explicit as to their resolved purpose to preserve their chartered rights, assumed the position which they held until they made a still further advance toward American independence. Berkshire may well be proud that she was the first—and,







considering the rapidity with which events followed each other in the summer of 1774, by a long interval the very first—to deliberately and formally take this stand and put its act on record.

The Berkshire Congress convened at Stockbridge, July 6th, 1774, and continued two days. The next in order of time was the Worcester, which met August 9th, but did not reach decisive action until August 30th. The other counties followed in September. The Berkshire deputies were as follows, as recorded :

Sheffield—John Ashley, Esq., Captain Nathaniel Austin, Deacon Silas Kellogg, Mr. Theodore Sedgwick, Captain William Day, Mr. William Bacon, Dr. Lemuel Barnard.

Great Barrington—Mark Hopkins, Esq., Dr. William Whiting, Mr. Truman Wheeler.

Egremont—Mr. Ephraim Fitch, Captain Timothy Kellogg, Mr. Samuel Culver.

Stockbridge—Timothy Edwards, Esq., Jahleel Woodbridge, Esq., Samuel Brown, jr., Esq., Mr. Thomas Williams, Dr. Erastus Sergeant.

Lenox—Messrs. Caleb Hyde, Captain Edward Gray, Lemuel Collins, John Patterson, William Walker.

West Stockbridge—Messrs. Elisha Hooper, Benjamin Lewis.

Alford—Messrs. Ebenezer Barritt, Deodate Ingersoll, William Brunson.

Richmond—Captain Elisha Brown, Lieutenant David Rossiter, Mr. Nathaniel Wilson.

Pittsfield—John Brown, Esq., Deacon James Easton, John Strong.

Lanesborough—Messrs. Gideon Wheeler, Peter Curtiss, Francis Guiteau.

Jericho [Hancock]—Captain Asa Douglass.

Williamstown—Messrs. Robert Hawkins, Elisha Baker, Jacob Meach.

East Hoosuck [Adams]—Mr. Eliel Todd.

Sandisfield—Messrs. Jacob Brown, David Deming.

Partridgefield [Peru]—Mr. Nathan Fisk.

Hartwood [Washington]—Messrs. William Spencer and Moses Ashley.

Becket—Messrs. Nathaniel Kingsley, Peter Porter, Jonathan Wadsworth.

New Marlboro—Messrs. Elinu Wright, Jabez Ward, Noah Church, Zenas Wheeler, Ephraim Guiteau.

Tyringham—Messrs. Giles Jackson, Benjamin Warner, Ezekiel Herick.

All the towns in the county, then incorporated, were represented except Loudon (Otis) and Gageborough (Windsor), and there were deputies from East Hoosuck (Adams and North Adams) and Jericho (Hancock), then plantations or unincorporated districts.

The action of the Congress was "preceded by an appointed prayer



by Rev. Mr. West of Stockbridge," better known to later generations as Rev. Dr. West. He was a man of ardent temperament, and of strong political as well as religious convictions; but he was of mature years, having been chaplain at Fort Massachusetts as long previous as 1739, and he was held in high regard by the friends of American liberties of all shades of opinion and feeling as to the measures proper to be taken for the protection of those liberties. If we interpret the language of the record correctly, his "animated prayer" preceded the organization of the convention, which would have accorded with the spirit of the age; and the faith which he manifested in the justice of the patriotic cause, and the divine support which it would receive, must have gone far to strengthen that of the Congress, and inspire the unanimous action which it took.

John Ashley was chosen chairman of the Congress, and Theodore Sedgwick clerk, both being deputies from Sheffield, and both lawyers. Ashley, however, had not devoted himself much to his profession, being a man of property. He had moreover been one of the judges of the Berkshire Court of Common Pleas from the creation of the county, in 1761, and was colonel of militia, both appointments coming from the royal governor. Six years before he had taken a course which excited the ire of the whigs of the whole province, and especially that of some of his own constituents. In February, 1768, the General Court of Massachusetts addressed a circular letter to all the sister colonies, asking them to unite in measures to oppose the aggressions of the mother country. Under orders from the home government Governor Bernard required the General Court to rescind this letter. Ninety-two members of this most contumacious body utterly refused to rescind, seventeen voted to comply with the governor's demand, and at once became odious throughout the province as "Rescinders." Among those thus approbriously designated were two judges of the Berkshire Court, William Williams, of Pittsfield, and John Ashley, who represented Sheffield, Great Barrington, and Egremont. Both were reelected the following year, although Ashley's election greatly disgusted the Great Barrington whigs.\* Six years passed, and we find Judge Ashley at the head of a Congress whose very existence the British government considered treasonable, and Judge Williams in at least an equivocal position. There can be no better illustration of the change which was going on in the minds of men who had everything at stake upon the issue of the contest, a contest which was at the same time changing from a very sharp political agitation to a desperate conflict between the forces of despotism and liberty.

Theodore Sedgwick was almost at the beginning of the public career which carried him to the highest offices in Massachusetts, and to the intimate friendship of Washington and other of the best men of the nation; but he was already thirty-one years old, and had been in the practice of the law for nine years. Like Judge Ashley, he was naturally of a con-

\* Taylor.







servative temperament, which speedily manifested itself, and in time became his most prominent characteristic as a public man. Among the deputies was Thomas Williams, of Stockbridge, a nephew of Colonel Ephraim Williams, the founder of Williams College, a lawyer who, like Mr. Sedgwick, had been with him a student in the office of Colonel Mark Hopkins of Great Barrington, who now met them in the Congress; preceptor and pupils alike being governed by the great principles of English constitutional law, and alike determined to assert and defend them as the birthright of themselves and their fellow colonists. As the deputies named were, so in all essential points was the County Congress as a whole; men to whom it was safe to entrust the all-important interests which their constituents confided to them at this most critical and decisive juncture. They were for the most part, and perhaps invariably, men of substance and as little biased as any who could have been found by selfish motives or the passions of the hour. We shall find several of those not named above distinguished afterward in active service. There can be no doubt that all fully appreciated the gravity of the situation, and the tremendous responsibility which they assumed in taking the first step which led to revolution and independence. However little some of them anticipated these grand results at this initial moment, they then manifested the spirit which would inevitably bring them about. Their action, cautious and elaborately conformed to loyalty as it was, pledged them to this if constitutional means of redress for the past and security for the future failed. We give that action in full.

A committee consisting of Messrs. Williams, Sedgwick, Curtiss, Brown, and Hopkins—all lawyers except Mr. Curtiss of Lanesborough—reported the following series of resolutions:

“Resolved, That King George the Third is our rightful king, and that we will bear true allegiance to him.

“Resolved, That the inhabitants of his majesty’s colonies in America are justly entitled to all the rights and liberties that the inhabitants of Great Britain are entitled to, which rights have been particularly confirmed to the inhabitants of this province by charter.

“Resolved, That it is one of the grand rights and liberties of the said inhabitants of Great Britain that they cannot constitutionally be deprived of their property but by their own consent.

“Resolved, That the late act of the British Parliament for giving and granting to his majesty, a duty upon all teas imported from Great Britain to America, which duty, by said act, is made payable here for the purpose of raising a revenue, was made without the consent of the inhabitants of America, whereby their property is taken from them without their consent, and therefore ought to be opposed in all legal and prudent ways.

“Resolved, That it is an undoubted right of the inhabitants of said colonies, in all actions, to be tried by their peers of the vicinity; and therefore that all those acts of the British Parliament, that anyway respect the collecting the duties aforesaid, whereby the trial by jury is taken away, or whereby the ancient trial by jury is in any way altered, are unconstitutional and oppressive.



"Resolved, That whenever any franchise and liberties are granted to a corporation or body politic, those franchises and liberties cannot be legally taken from such corporations and bodies politic, but by their consent or by forfeiture; that the inhabitants of this province have many great and invaluable franchises and liberties granted them by charter; which franchises and liberties have not been forfeited or resigned by said inhabitants; that by the late acts of the British Parliament some of the most valuable of these franchises and liberties are taken from them without even the form of a trial; Therefore,

"Resolved, That it is the indispensable duty of every person who would practice to himself and posterity the inestimable blessings of liberty, by all constitutional means in his power to endeavor to avert the much dreaded consequences of these arbitrary and oppressive acts; and that, for this purpose, it is prudent for the inhabitants of the said colonies to enter into an agreement not to purchase or consume the manufactures of Great Britain, under such limitations and exceptions as shall be agreed upon; and that such a non-consumption agreement is neither unwarrantable, hostile, traitorous, nor contrary to an allegiance to the king, but tends to promote the peace, good order, and safety of the community."

The resolutions thus presented, after being "maturely considered," were unanimously adopted, paragraph by paragraph.

Timothy Edwards, Esq., Dr. Lemuel Barnard, Dr. Erasmus Sergeant, and Deacon James Easton were appointed a committee to draft "an agreement to be recommended to the towns in the county for the non-consumption of British manufactures." The medical profession was as well represented upon this committee as the law was in the first, and all its members were men of very high standing in their respective localities. Timothy Edwards was the oldest son of Jonathan Edwards, the great theological metaphysician. Afterward he was an able, active, and influential member of the Provincial Congress and of the executive council in the years when it was the supreme executive power of the State. And it is not out of place to say here that the representatives of the town of Stockbridge for many years had much greater moral influence at Boston than those of any other Berkshire town. They were, for the most part, as conservative as those from the metropolis itself, and as able. If the memoir of Timothy Edwards were fully and accurately told he would rank among the foremost public men in Berkshire history. All his associates upon the committee were men of high position, of calm judgment, prudent men, with no motive for inviting unnecessary danger or provoking any conflict which would disturb the established order of society.

We give now the solemn league and covenant which the judicious committee reported, and which the congress unanimously recommended for the signature of the citizens of the county.

"Whereas the parliament of Great Britain have of late undertaken to give and grant away our money without our knowledge or consent; and in order to compel us to a servile submission to the above measures, have proceeded to block up the harbor of Boston; also have violated, or are about to violate, the charter, and repeal certain laws of this province heretofore enacted by the General Court, and confirmed







by the King and his predecessors; therefore as a mean to obtain a speedy redress of the aforesaid grievances, we do, solemnly and in good faith, covenant and engage with each other:

"I.—That we will not import, purchase, or consume, or suffer any person by, or for, us to import, purchase, or consume in any manner whatever, any goods, wares, or merchandise, which shall arrive in America from Great Britain from and after the 1st day of October, 1774, or such other time as shall be agreed upon by the American Congress, nor any goods, which shall be ordered from thence, after this day, until our chartered and constitutional rights shall be restored, or until it shall be determined by the major part of our brethren in this and the neighboring colonies that a non-importation and non-consumption agreement will not have a tendency to effect the desired end, or until it shall be apparent that a non-importation and non-consumption agreement will not be entered into by a majority of this and the neighboring colonies; except such articles as the said General Congress of North America shall agree to import, purchase, or consume.

"II.—We do further covenant and agree, that we will observe the most strict obedience to all constitutional laws, and authority, and will at all times exert ourselves to the utmost for the discouragement of all licentiousness and suppression of all mobs and riots.

"III.—We will all exert ourselves, as far as in us lies, in promoting love, peace, and unanimity among each other; and for that end we engage to avoid all unnecessary law suits.

"IV.—As a strict and proper adherence to the present agreement will, if not seasonably provided against, involve us in many difficulties and inconveniences; we do promise and agree that we will take the most prudent care for the raising and preserving sheep for the manufacturing of all such cloths as shall be most useful and necessary; for the raising of flax and manufacturing of linens. Further, that we will by every prudent method, endeavor to guard against all those inconveniences which may otherwise arise from the foregoing agreement.

"V.—That, if any person shall refuse to sign this or a similar covenant or if, after signing it, shall not adhere to the real intent and meaning thereof, he or they shall be treated with that neglect justly deserved.

"VI.—That if this or a similar covenant shall after the first day of August next be offered to any trader or shop-keeper in this county, and he or they shall refuse to sign the same, for the space of forty-eight hours, that we will not, from thence forth, purchase any article of British manufactures, from him or them, until such time as he or they shall sign this or a similar covenant."

This draft was "read several times distinctly, paragraph by paragraph, and accepted," but the record does not state that, as in the case of the resolutions, the vote was unanimous. Probably there were a very few dissenting votes, but it would be difficult now to determine who cast them.

The Congress, after taking this decisive action, voted "in deference to the resolves of the recent House of Representatives, in imitation of the pious example of the Reverend pastors of the associated churches in the town of Boston, and from a sense of their dependence upon God for every mercy," recommended a county fast to be observed by Christians



of all denominations on the 14th of July, or one week after its adjournment. It also voted that the members should inform their respective pastors of this vote; and should also commend the distressed situation of the poor of Boston and Charleston to the inhabitants of the county, and that whatever should be collected for them should be remitted in the fall in fat cattle by such ways and means as should be afterward agreed upon.

The league and covenant quoted above was the first formally recommended by any Massachusetts county to its towns, and among the first framed in any of the provinces. It affords a fair idea of those famous and formidable instruments which Governor Gage "deemed of such pernicious influence" that he was constrained, as he wrote to the home government, to publish without loss of time a proclamation to prevent their ill effects as far as possible. Proclamations were his excellency's forte, but in the conflict of paper weapons, as between him and the congresses, they were of no avail. Some of these covenants framed about the same time with that of Berkshire, even as far away as North Carolina and Virginia, were much more extended and stringent. Curiously, but consistently enough with the spirit of that day, in Virginia some of its counties vigorously declared African slavery hostile to the interests of that province, particularly in the matter of manufactures, denounced the slave trade as "wicked, cruel, and unnatural," and pledged the signers of the covenant not to import or buy slaves. Berkshire took no action upon slavery at that time, but a few years afterward in convention demanded that it should be abolished in Massachusetts by the constitution then about to be framed. As new and stricter forms of the league and covenant were recommended by the provincial and continental congresses they were promptly adopted by the Berkshire towns, as were all other measures recommended by those bodies, whose advice had all the effect of laws.

The proceedings of the County Congress need no comment to enable the reader fully and clearly to comprehend the position of the body of the population of Berkshire in this crisis, when a great public necessity required them as a county to be firm and foremost in action. We have given those proceedings fully as they appear of record; but there can be little doubt that while it was assembled, a measure of the utmost importance, recommended by the Revolutionary leaders at Boston, was discussed and agreed upon by the radical members of the congress at least. Although not mentioned in its debates it soon became known, for on the 1st of August Colonel Israel Williams, Colonel Worthington of Springfield concurring, in a letter to Governor Gage welcoming his arrival at Boston, wrote to him that they were "well informed" that there was an intention to prevent the holding for the next ensuing term of the court in Berkshire in case the royal assent was given to certain bills; and that the same thing was threatened in Hampshire. He adds: "Even the people in Connecticut have undertaken to reform the laws in their province and







chastise the king's subjects within your excellency's jurisdiction. No attempts that we hear are made by the magistrates of that colony to suppress the disorders and insurrections. Every measure pursued seems to be with a view to insult Majesty and widen the breach between us and the parent state; and even to dare the vengeance of the supreme authority of the British Empire in America, which without some immediate powerful interposition will, it is to be feared, soon be *felix de ore*."

Colonel Williams in this case fully confirmed the reputation he had acquired in the French and Indian wars for obtaining remarkably accurate information. The statements and prophecies quoted were soon found to be perfectly correct. But the warning was in vain, and would have been if he had been longer in his seat and had longer time for preparation.

The next County Court to be held in the province after the time when it was expected that the acts for the perversion of the charter would be received was that at Great Barrington, on the 16th of August. On the 4th of that month a county convention was held at Pittsfield, of the membership of which we know nothing, and of the action of which we can only form a guess from what followed. On the 15th, only one day before that for the meeting of the court, the town of Pittsfield, being called together for that purpose, promptly accepted that action, and proceeded to choose Captain Charles Goodrich, William Francis, and the moderator, Deacon Josiah Wright, a committee "to prefer a petition to the Honorable court not to transact any business the present term." This committee were all men of the eminently judicious class, whose opinions had great weight with all thoughtful men. Always true to the principles of the Revolution and bold in the defense of them, they were pronounced conservatives. Dr. Timothy Childs and Mr. John Strong, who were appointed to draft the resolutions, were younger men and somewhat more impetuous. Dr. Childs was born in Deerfield in 1748, entered Harvard College in 1764, but left without graduating, and, after studying medicine with Dr. Thomas Williams, settled in Pittsfield in 1771. He was an ardent patriot, inheriting his principles from his father of the same name who led the minute men of Deerfield when they responded to the Lexington alarm. Mr. Strong was a graduate of Yale College and one of the early Pittsfield school teachers. At this time he kept a tavern in the building which, remodelled and much enlarged, has since been long known as the "Pomeroy Homestead." During the Revolution he became a captain in the local militia, and saw much active service on occasions which Bancroft and other general historians now recognize as memorable. From first to last he was among the most ardent of the Berkshire Revolutionary patriots. The not over humble petition, reported by this committee of two and adopted by the town, exhibits some very conclusive arguments, closing with a paragraph which intimates forcibly that the question at issue had passed beyond the debatable stage. It is as follows:



"To the Honorable His Majesty's Justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the County of Berkshire: The petition of the town of Pittsfield, assembled in Town Meeting, on Monday, the fifteenth day of August, 1774:—

"Humbly sheweth,

"That whereas two late acts of the British Parliament for superseding the charter of this Province, and vacating some of the principles and invaluable privileges and franchises therein contained, have passed the royal assent, and have been published in the Boston paper, that our obedience be yielded to them.

"We view it of the greatest importance to the well-being of this Province, that the people of it utterly refuse the least submission to the said acts, and on no consideration to yield obedience to them; or directly or indirectly to countenance the taking place of those acts among us, but resist them to the last extremity.

"In order in the safest manner to avoid this threatening calamity, it is, in our opinion, highly necessary that no business be transacted in the law, but that the courts of justice immediately cease, and that the people of this Province fall into a state of nature until our grievances are fully redressed by a final repeal of these injurious, oppressive, and unconstitutional acts. We have the pleasure to find that this is the sentiment of the greater part of the people of this Province; and we are persuaded that no man that wholly understands the state of our public affairs, who has business at the approaching term, but will advise and consent to the same, and willingly undergo personal inconvenience for the public good. We do therefore remonstrate against the holding any courts in this county until those acts shall be repealed; and we hope that your honors will not be of a different opinion from the good people of this county. Our reasons for holding no courts in the present situation of affairs, are as follows:—

"Some reasons why our Inferior Court cannot be held in its ancient form and agreeable to charter now the new acts are published:—

"1st. If they are now held in the ancient form, this will be in direct violation of those laws, and in defiance of them.

"2d. Whatever business shall be transacted in the ancient form, now those laws are in force, will be illegal, and liable afterwards to be wholly set aside.

"3d. The honorable judges will expose themselves, by not submitting to the new acts, by transacting business in the old form, or agreeable to our charter, to an immediate loss of their commissions.

"4th. It will be much greater contempt of those laws to transact business in the ancient form, or agreeable to our charter, than to do none at all.

"5th. This course of procedure will tend to bring matters to a more unhappy crisis, which we would choose by all means to avoid, than to neglect to do any business.

"6th. The new acts will insensibly steal in upon us under pretext of doing business after the ancient Constitution; therefore, as soon as the new acts are in whole or in part in force, as they now are, no court ought to be held in the ancient form.

"Our reasons why our Inferior Courts ought not to be held at the approaching term are as follows:—

"1st. We have undoubted intelligence from York and Boston that the said acts have passed the royal assent.

"2d. We are also informed of their arrival in Boston.







"3d. It is highly probable they are published in form by the governor by this present time in order that our obedience be rendered to them.

"4th. We ought to bear the most early testimony against those acts, and set a good example for the other part of the Province to copy after.

"5th. Some parts of those acts have taken place already,—that part of which dissolves the council by whose advice the former commissions were granted out; and that part of which empowers the governor to grant new commissions without advice of the council; and also that which respects town-meetings. For these and other reasons, it plainly appears to be of dangerous consequences to do any business in the law till the repeal of those acts, as would most certainly imply some degree of submission to them, the least appearance of which ought not to be admitted.

"The honor of the Court has good grounds to neglect to do business in the law, and the people just occasion to petition for it, and insist upon it without admitting a refusal."

In this matter the town of Pittsfield represented the whole county, although other towns, whose records are lost, may have taken similar action. Some of them at least, like Hancock, paid the expenses of their citizens who went to Great Barrington to help present the petition to the Honorable Court with proper force if not in proper form.

According to the report in the *Boston Gazette* and *Newsletter* of September first, "At the time appointed for the court to sit about fifteen hundred were assembled, unarmed, at Great Barrington and filled the court house and the avenues to the seats of justice [the justices] so that no passage could be found for the judges." "The sheriff commanded the people to make way for 'the Court,' but they gave him to understand that they knew no court, or any other establishment than the ancient laws and customs of the country; and to no other would they give way on any terms."

They were assured that the new acts had not been received and that the court would transact business under the old laws; but everybody knew that the commissions of the judges were already revocable at the pleasure of the governor, and that, if the new acts were not already in the possession of the high sheriff, they might reach Great Barrington at any moment, and be promulgated as soon as the court was well benched. It was, from first to last, the policy and principle of the most influential Berkshire revolutionary patriots to take time by the forelock, and see to it that neither despotism nor what they considered usurped or unconstitutional power should obtain a foothold from which it might afterward be difficult, if not impossible, to dislodge it. The assemblage at Great Barrington therefore insisted that the judges should at once leave the town. They complied lest worse might befall them.

The court consisted of only three members, the fourth, Hon. Timothy Woodbridge, having died in the previous May. Only one of the three was strongly antagonistic at this time to the popular sentiment in general, however they all may have regretted this particular practical expression of it. The judge specially in favor of submission to the authority of the



British Parliament was Perry Marsh, of Dalton, a son-in-law of Israel Williams, of Hatfield, the leading loyalist of Western Massachusetts, and himself of the same party, then called the "ministerial;" the action of Parliament being considered as inspired by the ministers of the crown. Judge Ashley was the only one of the judges educated in the law. We have already described his patriotic position as chairman of the County Congress. William Williams, of Pittsfield, the chief justice, had, up to this time, been considered a member of the "ministerial" party, and was much relied upon by the royal governors who had conferred upon him commissions, all of which he held at this time, as judge of the Common Pleas, and also of the Probate Court, and colonel of militia. He also received half pay on the retired list of the British army in regard to his early military service. He was, moreover, closely allied by blood and marriage to the intensely loyal Stoddard and Williams families in both Berkshire and Hampshire. He loved his offices and needed the pay attached to them, and was bound to his family connections by ties of gratitude and affection. The influences which tended to confirm him in his attachment to the party of submission were certainly very strong, and Sabine gives a sketch of him among his "American Loyalists." This attachment did not, however, prove so great that he was not able readily to adapt himself to the change in popular sentiment, perhaps the more readily because in the French and Indian wars his relations with some of the British commanders had been the reverse of pleasant or gratifying to his pride, either as a man or a soldier. He loved local popularity, and was perhaps quick to see, after the contest had actually commenced, what the end must be. At any rate he soothed the feeling of his whig fellow townsmen when it had become excited by the battle of Brimington, by assuring them that if he was younger he would have been glad to take the field. As it was he thought it better for him to receive his half pay in gold and spend it among them rather than to forfeit it by any overt act against the British government. This plan appears to have been accepted. He was at once put upon committees which implied sympathy with the people, but not active opposition to the government. Before 1777 he had become, however, both active and ardent in that opposition, and as good a whig as the best.

Such was the composition of the court which, without regard to any of its members, but simply in the interest of constitutional law, the people of Berkshire thought it their duty to "obstruct" in the August of 1774. It is not strange that a tribunal constituted and situated as this was should make no very strenuous defense or assertion, moral or other, of its judicial authority. The clerk of the court, Elijah Williams, of Great Barrington, would doubtless have counselled resistance if it had been practicable, and the high sheriff, Elijah Williams, of West Stockbridge, would have maintained it to the best of his power, but in the face of the popular force arrayed against them the attempt would have been useless.

As a rule the assembled multitude conducted itself in an orderly



The first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The second is the fact that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the various parts are constantly changing and evolving. The third is the fact that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with the environment.

The fourth is the fact that the system is not a homogeneous one, but a heterogeneous one, in which the various parts are of different kinds and have different functions. The fifth is the fact that the system is not a uniform one, but a non-uniform one, in which the various parts are distributed in a non-uniform manner. The sixth is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The seventh is the fact that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the various parts are constantly changing and evolving. The eighth is the fact that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with the environment.

The ninth is the fact that the system is not a homogeneous one, but a heterogeneous one, in which the various parts are of different kinds and have different functions. The tenth is the fact that the system is not a uniform one, but a non-uniform one, in which the various parts are distributed in a non-uniform manner. The eleventh is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The twelfth is the fact that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the various parts are constantly changing and evolving. The thirteenth is the fact that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with the environment.

The fourteenth is the fact that the system is not a homogeneous one, but a heterogeneous one, in which the various parts are of different kinds and have different functions. The fifteenth is the fact that the system is not a uniform one, but a non-uniform one, in which the various parts are distributed in a non-uniform manner. The sixteenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The seventeenth is the fact that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the various parts are constantly changing and evolving. The eighteenth is the fact that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the various parts are constantly interacting with the environment.



manner, and did no more than was necessary to secure its declared object; but about three hundred of them came from the adjoining county of Litchfield, in Connecticut. These, on their return, took with them, as prisoner, David Ingersol, Esq., a particularly obnoxious tory, and a magistrate of the "General Sessions," which included all the justices of the peace in the county. Probably Esquire Ingersol was subjected to rough treatment and put in bodily fear; for the chief of his captors were arraigned by a Connecticut deputy sheriff before the "Honorable Eliphalet Dyer, Esq., who, with great solemnity and severity, reprimanded the delinquents," and bound them over to answer for their delinquencies. Before the court met affairs had assumed such a position that they were in no danger. Ingersol was 32 years old, a son of one of the first settlers, a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1761, a lawyer, a man of wealth, and prominent in the Episcopal church and the ministerial party. He was a tory of the most pronounced type, and in the fall of 1774, recognizing that England was his proper place, went there, and died in 1796.

A letter from Great Barrington, dated August 20th, and probably written by Ingersol, expresses the opinion that the measures of the "Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, Esq., had happily restored order and due deference to the laws in those parts of the two provinces." Never was there a greater mistake. Never again did any court sit in Berkshire under the commission of a royal governor, nor, with a slight exception in favor of the Probate Court, under any authority until the adoption of the State Constitution in 1781. And not only was this so, but the other counties of the province followed the example in rapid succession. Most of them, and probably each of them, would have been glad to be first in the patriotic work had the opportunity fallen to it. Shortly after the spirited action of the Berkshire people at Great Barrington, Governor Gage wrote to his chief in the British cabinet, the Earl of Dartmouth, "A flame sprang up at the extremity of the province. \* \* \* \* The popular rage is very high in Berkshire and makes its way rapidly to the rest."

This letter was written on the 27th of August, when his excellency had only "heard by common report that the inferior court had been stopped in Berkshire county and the judge maltreated, and only feared that there was some foundation for the report." No other courts had, at that date, been obstructed. His expressions must therefore refer to the influence chiefly of the County Congress. On the 2d of September, however, he was compelled to write: "Civil Government is near its end; the courts of justice expiring one after another. \* \* \* The judges of the Superior Court have been with me, in a body, to represent the impossibility of carrying on the business of the court in any part of the province."

The governor quite correctly attributed the proceedings in the interior counties to the advice of the Revolutionary leaders in Boston; or, it may be strictly said, in the province. He stated what was perfectly



true, that the Boston committee desired to have all the counties hold County Congresses. He had a special horror of these congresses, and ordered that called at Salem to disperse or he would send the sheriff to disperse them. They dispersed with "great decency," but he had no doubt the deputies did their business just as effectually as though they had met in the place originally designated. The Berkshire Congress, strong in the strength of the hills, would have laughed at such an order, and the Berkshire sheriff, strong and brave loyalist as he was, would have been afraid that any posse which could have been called out to disperse them would do something very different. So in regard to the proceedings at Great Barrington, the people of Pittsfield in a memorial to the General Court of 1777 represented that "from the purest and most disinterested principles and ardent love for their country without selfish considerations and *in conformity with the advice of the wisest men in the colony*" they cordially aided in suspending the executive courts in the county." There is abundant evidence that in all the acts which we have related the patriots of Berkshire in 1774 acted in entire harmony with those at the eastern part of the province, and played a bold and most important part in carrying out a well conceived and well defined policy. There is every reason to believe that they had also their proportionate share in forming that policy. In patriotic action preliminary to and preparatory to the Revolution, Berkshire surely stood among the foremost counties. The proceedings of the County Congress and the suppression of the courts worked grandly when throughout Berkshire the spirit of resistance to the aggressions of tyranny was roused and united in action, as it could not have been in any other way so speedily and effectually. The great object of committing the western portion of the province devotedly, enthusiastically, and irrevocably to the cause of liberty was accomplished in spite of obstacles which would have interposed a dangerous delay before any less vehement advance. It was a moment when determined, unwavering measures were imperatively demanded, when the slightest indication of weakness would have been fatal. None such were seen in Berkshire. Something of conflict there was for a time between the rich and previously influential loyalists and the sons of liberty who composed the mass of the people, but the contest was too unequal to be long continued openly.

The crisis advanced with startling speed. Governor Gage having revoked his call for a meeting of the General Court at Salem on the 5th of October, ninety of the members chosen resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress "to be joined by such other persons as had been, or should be, appointed for that purpose," at Concord on the next Tuesday. There was, of course, no time for any Berkshire towns to act in the interval; but the emergency had been anticipated by the Boston committee who had called a Provincial Congress at the same place and at the same time. The members from Berkshire were as follows: Shelbourn, Great Barrington, Egremont, and Alford, John Fellows, Esq., and Dr. William







Whiting; Stockbridge and West Stockbridge, Mr. Thomas Williams; Tyringham, Captain Giles Jackson; Pittsfield, John Brown; Lenox, John Patterson; Becket, John Wadsworth. Four of this number, Messrs. Fellows, Patterson, Williams, and Brown, attained distinction as officers in the Revolutionary army. Although few of the towns in the county were represented, it was a remarkably strong delegation in all its members. Major Fellows served on the committee to make a minute inquiry into the state and operations of the Massachusetts army, and on that of one member from each county to prepare a statement of the population, commerce and manufactures of every town, for the use of the Massachusetts delegates in the Continental Congress. These were the most important committees of the session, and required extraordinary qualifications in all their members. The selection of Major Fellows shows the estimation in which he was held, and the manner in which he performed his duties proves that this estimation was just. Mr. Williams was one of the members chosen to present the address of the congress to Governor Gage, who must have been rather astonished to see so prominent a member of the famously loyal Williams family in that position. He was also on the committee to prepare the agreement for the non consumption of British goods.

In the second Provincial Congress, which met February 1st, 1775, Berkshire was represented as follows: Sheffield and Great Barrington, John Fellows; Egremont and Alford, Dr. William Whiting (of Great Barrington); Stockbridge, Samuel Brown; New Marlborough, Dr. Ephraim Guiteau; Richmond, Captain Elijah Brown; Lenox, John Patterson; Pittsfield and Partridgefield (Peru), John Brown, Sandisfield, David Deming; Williamstown, Samuel Kellogg; Gageborough (Windsor), Captain William Clark. The other towns were unrepresented. Messrs. Whiting, Patterson, and John Brown were active and valuable members of this Congress, as will appear in other connections. In the third Provincial Congress, which met at Watertown, May 31st, 1775, Berkshire was represented as follows: Sheffield, Great Barrington, Egremont, and Alford, Dr. William Whiting; Tyringham, Major Giles Jackson; Stockbridge, Timothy Edwards and Jahleel Woodbridge; Lenox, Captain Caleb Hyde; Williamstown, Samuel Kellogg; Richmond, Captain Elijah Brown; Sandisfield, Deacon Samuel Smith; Tyringham, Elijah Warren and John Chadwick, Esq.

John Brown was chosen for Pittsfield, but was transferred to a more important duty. Captain Charles Goodrich, who, before the meeting of the Congress, was chosen to fill the vacancy, for some reason did not take his seat. Jahleel Woodbridge (whose name is incorrectly printed in the record as Jerathmiel) was a man of much distinction afterward, and then of high local position. He was one of those whose connections would have naturally led him to the support of the royal government. He was a worthy associate for Timothy Edwards.

It will be observed that the three Provincial Congresses were held



while many considerate men were deliberately deciding where they should range themselves, and that the action of these convocations in a great degree determined the status of the people of the province. It must also be remembered that the British government at this time considered every Provincial Congressman as guilty of high treason, and deserving the horrible punishments provided by English law for such offenders against its majesty.

The last of these congresses commenced its session only about six weeks after the battle of Lexington, and continued only until the nineteenth of July, but it completed the work which the two previous ones had begun, of, by its "advice" to the towns, thoroughly organizing the province for resistance to the invasion of its liberties, and of preparing it for what proved to be revolution. In some of the most important of the measures to this end Berkshire delegates had a distinguished part.

A petition presented to the Congress February 1st, 1775, and signed by Seth Pomeroy and nineteen other delegates from the counties of Hampshire and Berkshire, represented that the inhabitants of those counties were very generally determined to perform all the duties required of them, including the purchase of full town stocks of ammunition, the organizing and equipping, accoutreing and disciplining the militia men in general, and the minute men in particular; that as the military officers recently chosen there by the people reported that in the county of Berkshire, and in most of the towns of Hampshire, able-bodied, effective, and well disposed men, generally equipped and furnished with good firearms had already freely offered themselves to complete their full proportion of minute men, as recommended by Congress. Nevertheless, they say, good sufficient firearms are not to be found in those counties to equip all the men able and willing to bear arms in defense of their country; that many of them are utterly unable to furnish themselves with arms, and, living in unincorporated districts, cannot be furnished by towns in the manner prescribed by the Congress. They further say that "the enemy of these colonies"—to wit the tories—"continually throw out that administration have conceived a bloody plan of mustering great numbers of French Canadians and remote tribes of savages," to bring them against the province, and these counties will be first attacked. They think, therefore, that every well disposed man there ought to be furnished with a good firelock, and pray the Congress to so order it. The petition was referred to the committee on the state of the province with permission to make it public, but nothing further appears to have been done by the matter.

The threat of bringing down the Canadian savages upon the county of Berkshire was no doubt often made in the heat of the moment's passion by local tories, some of whom, at least, when the attempt to execute it came, in Burgoyne's campaign, were ready to resist it in the best of their power. In the meantime, however, their hasty words on this matter, and the information against their neighbors given to Governor Gage were







the chief of the exasperating causes which influenced the popular mind against them, and led to a more severe handling than perhaps was necessary merely to secure the ascendancy of the friends of liberty in the province.

This "handling," which was the technical term for the measures taken to substitute loyalty to the province for loyalty to the king, in recusant minds, was certainly often severe, and sometimes unjust. Men who had been of the highest standing, and some of whom were honored after the war, were ostracised, subjected to obloquy and insults of all kinds, to fines and imprisonment. Some fled to the protection of the British lines, but mostly returned, and submitted themselves to avoid the confiscation of their property, like Woodbridge Little and Israel Stoddard, of Pittsfield, who were nevertheless afterward imprisoned at Northampton. The more prudent, like Justice Ingersoll of Great Barrington, sold their property before they left, and submitted to the perpetual banishment imposed by the General Court.

Under the direction of the Continental and Provincial Congresses, the towns of Berkshire chose committees of correspondence and inspection to preserve union among the towns of the province, and "observe" the conduct of their own inhabitants as regarded the great affairs of the day. These committees became very formidable, and were, to a large extent, the ruling power of the county till 1781. On the 12th of April, 1775, the Provincial Congress appointed a supervising committee of five members for each county, who were required to meet once in every two months to receive the reports which the town committees were asked to send to them. Events followed each other so rapidly that two months made a wide interval, and we have no record of the action of the supervising committee for Berkshire, which consisted of Samuel Brown, of Stockbridge; Mark Hopkins, of Great Barrington; Capt. Charles Goodrich, of Pittsfield; Capt. Caleb Hyde, of Lenox, and Major Jonathan Smith, of Lanesboro. These gentlemen, although as firmly grounded as any others in the principles of the Revolution, were all among the more moderate and conservative class of whigs in regard to measures and the disciplining of recusants. Major Smith, who may be regarded as the representative of the whole, although others held more distinguished positions, had the honor to be eulogized by Daniel Webster, in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1820, as one of the men whom he had known who were most characterized by sound sense, correct principles, and good judgment as to public affairs. In his later life he was a favorite arbitrator between conflicting parties in the neighboring towns, and between citizens in his own. In the respects mentioned he was a fair representative of his associates on the committee.

An increase of military titles is noticeable in this list, and it was occasioned by the fact that the militia of the county, by advice of the Provincial Congress, had been entirely reorganized, the privates electing the company officers, who in turn chose the regimental. Three regiments



of ordinary militia, and two of minute men were organized. The minute men were so called because they engaged to be ready to move at a minute's warning, and they did not belie their name. The regiment which was recruited from the southern towns was commanded by Col. John Fellows. The captains were William King of Great Barrington, William Bacon, of Sheffield, Ebenezer Smith, of New Marlborough, — Soule, of Sandisfield, William Goodrich, of Stockbridge, Noah Allen, of Tyringham; Samuel Brewer, of Stockbridge, adjutant. John Patterson, of Lenox, commanded the regiment raised in the northern and central parts of the county, and Jeremiah Cady, of Dalton (then the plantation of Ashuelot Equivalent) was major. The captains were Charles Dibble, of Lenox, Nathan Watkins, of Partridgefield, Thomas Williams, of Stockbridge, David Noble, of Pittsfield, and Samuel Sloan, of Williamstown. The other principal officers were taken from other parts of the province. Captain Noble, who commanded the Pittsfield and Richmond company, showed a patriotic zeal and liberality not often surpassed. Pittsfield, in January, voted to pay every man from that town who enlisted in this "Piquet company one shilling and six pence a day while on duty, he equipping and furnishing himself with proper and sufficient arms and accoutrements fit for war, and standing ready at a minute's warning to march and oppose the enemies of the country if called thereon." Under a penalty of three shillings for each neglect every minute man was required to "appear and exercise" three or four times a month. The company was, however, indebted for its arms and uniform to its commander, Captain David Noble. On the first of September an alarm was raised of a movement of the British troops from Boston to Charleston, and the minute men of Berkshire at once pressed forward, but on reaching Westfield learned that the alarm was false, and returned home. The Pittsfield company seems to have been mounted, for the town allowed each private and non-commissioned officer two pounds for himself and horse, and the captain and lieutenant six pounds; refusing the officers any extra compensation for going on to Boston after they had learned that the alarm was a feint, probably intended by the Revolutionary leaders at Boston to test the spirit of the interior of the province. If that was the intent the result of the experiment as to Berkshire was satisfactory.

Captain Noble's visit to Boston was no mere trip of curiosity or pleasure, and the town might well have paid for it, and no doubt would have done so could they have foreseen the result. He learned there how close and how momentous was the impending conflict. Returning home he sold three farms, and receiving the pay in gold he expended it in furnishing his company with 130 stand of arms and uniforming them in "neat and substantial regimentals." Their breeches were made of buckskin and their coats of "blue cloth turned up with white." For this purpose he brought a breeches maker from Philadelphia and had the uniform made up in his own house.

This instance of the devotion and self sacrificing spirit of Berkshire







patriots in that memorable winter of preparation, although conspicuous by its extreme liberality, was a sample of what was done by all Berkshire men and women, with the exception of those who belonged to a few loyalist families. That anxious winter saw busier scenes than were ever before witnessed even in New England homes, while the click of the loom and the humming of the spinning-wheel made music harmonious with that of the minute men's life and drum. This was needful, for in 1774 no myriad-spindled factories clothed armies by contract with a government of exhaustless treasury. In every Berkshire village the true hearted and industrious women had much to do besides that which was required of, and so nobly performed by, their worthy successors in the Civil war nearly a hundred years later. In "spinning matches" and "clothing bees" married and single women, those belonging to rival localities or otherwise, divided for friendly contests, strove for the palm in the now lost domestic arts of spinning, weaving, and coloring of home made cloths; the product going to clothe the army. In these gatherings the laughter may have been louder and more frequent than when they were held in token of good will for the village pastor, but there must have been an undertone which showed that none of the thoughtful participants could be cheated of their forebodings. The people of Berkshire as a whole in 1774 were neither gloomy, morose, nor ascetic; they were as far as possible from being despondent in this crisis. On the contrary, they were in the first flush of indignant resistance to wrong, and with full confidence in the Lord of Hosts as their helper; but they, or at least the more intelligent of them, those whom we have named, and shall name, as leaders, knew well

"What arduous struggles lie  
Between adventurous virtue's early toils  
And her triumphant throne."

In those struggles they were eager to participate, because they believed them necessary, although they would have rejoiced if that necessity had not existed, or could have been avoided. They were generally well informed in the history of the strife for civil and religious liberty which, with varying fortunes, had been going on in Great Britain for centuries, and in that history they read their own with the hope of an even better denouement, although through much endurance; a hope that was not falsified. Of these struggles and of the suffering which attended them much came early. With generous and sensitive minds severing of old and warm friendships was a bitter trial, even when that severance was not so wide and complete as it was in some instances, or as was required by some forms of the league and covenant. Governor Gage, in his early ignorance of the spirit and character of the people, believed that inconveniences necessarily arising from the suspension of the courts and the restrictions by the league and covenant upon the traffic and use of ordinary commodities of life would alone be sufficient to reduce the province to submission. He was mistaken, as usual. Still these "incon-



veniences," to call them by no stronger name, were severely felt, necessary and effectual as they were as Revolutionary measures. The suspension of the courts of law, the non-consumption agreement, and the severe "handling" of tories produced great hardships for many years, and in some cases undoubtedly were sources of injustice and oppression in the name of liberty, generally the result of over zeal on the part of the committees or their agents, but sometimes from baser personal reasons. Letters and records afford us specific individual instances of this. But the statement needs no proof, and families are not so changed in Berkshire, and yet not so far removed from those times that to reproduce those stories might not revive old feuds, or at least be unpleasant to many readers. That which it is necessary to relate in the interest of the truth of history will, of course, be pardoned by all sensible people. More will not be given.





## CHAPTER VIII.

### BERKSHIRE IN THE REVOLUTION (*continued*).

Active hostilities and measures connected with them.—Departure of the minute men.—Capture of Ticonderoga.—The Canadian campaign, 1775-6.—Other events of 1775.—Berkshire in the second Northern campaign.

IN THE SPRING of 1775, as we have seen, Berkshire by her vigilant and vigorous action was well prepared for the commencement of active hostilities in the war of the Revolution. Her two regiments of minute men were composed of the flower of the youth of the county, and appear to have enlisted from the newly organized militia without being detached from it necessarily, except when on duty as minute men; for in one instance at least we find Captain Noble, who commanded the company of Pittsfield and Richmond men in the latter service, was at the time first lieutenant in a company of Pittsfield militia. It was considered, in view of the antagonistic position, of great importance to secure the Stockbridge Indians for the patriotic side, and on the 1st of April, in the Provincial Congress, the committee on the state of the province reported that a number of them had enlisted as minute men, and it was voted to pay Col. Patterson and Capt. William Goodrich twenty-three pounds to purchase a blanket and some ribbons for each of them, and to present an address, which is a good specimen of the eloquence usually addressed officially to the red men. It was formally adopted by the Congress, and is printed in its record. In a short time the Stockbridge Indians enlisted a full company composed of all the fighting men of the tribe, whose names will be found in the list of Berkshire Revolutionary soldiers. They did most faithful and valuable service throughout the war.

"The Mahhekaneok tribe of Indians living in and about Stockbridge," considered the address of April 1st at a council of two days, at the close of which, April 11th, the chief sachem, Capt. Solomon Uh-hau-nau-wau-mut, made a reply full of good feeling and good sense, promising the utmost aid he and his tribe could give. He had been thinking of "taking a run to the westward to feel the minds of his brethren of the



six nations," and if he found them against the American cause to attempt to turn them, which he thought would be the best service he could perform at that time, "as it might be a good while before blood run." However, he submitted all that to their judgment; only if he was sent for to fight he would have to do so in his own Indian way. "I am not used to fight English fashion, and you must not expect me to train like your men. Only point out to me where your enemies keep, and that is all I shall want to know."

This reply for some reason, was not reported to the congress until June 8th, when "blood had begun to run." The proposition of Captain Solomon to go as a sort of envoy extraordinary to the natives, if he still thought best, was considered. The address adds, "if some of your young men have a mind to come down here to see what we are doing, let them come down and tarry among our warriors. We will provide for them while here."

At the same, "whereas great benefit may arise to the American cause should our friends, the Stockbridge or Mohican known Indians send belts and messengers and the same may be attended with expense," the selectmen of Stockbridge were appointed a committee to forward this measure and fifteen pounds from the money in the hands of Stephen Nash, "the late collector" of that town, were appropriated to defray the cost.

In July, 1775, eighteen of the Indian soldiers petitioned the Congress, saying that in their serious hours they were sensible of their want of prudence in disposing of their money, and desired that Congress would devise some means to prevent their getting too much strong drink. To this end they asked that all their wages should be paid in trust to Timothy Edwards and Jahluel Woodbridge, of Stockbridge, and that they should deal the proceeds out to them as they had need thereof. The petition was granted July 5th.

News of the excursion of the king's troops which led to the battle of Lexington, April 19th, reached Berkshire about noon on the 20th. Tradition calls it news of the battle which is quite impossible. With the roads and facilities for travel in 1775 it was a brilliant exploit to carry the news of the intended movement from Boston on the late evening of the 18th, to the Berkshire valley, beyond the Hoosac Mountains, in less than two days. It was a splendid extension, by relays of other messengers, of Paul Revere's famous ride. But whatever the news that came that 20th of April the Berkshire minute men, true to their name and pledge, were ready for it, and both the regiments were on their way to the vicinity of Boston early the next morning. The men in both were well armed and equipped. Those of Colonel Patterson were generally in uniform, probably similar to that described for Captain Noble's company.

Colonel Patterson's regiment was stationed at Cambridge, that of Colonel Fellows at Roxbury. The men in both generally were enlisted for eight months, with large additions of new recruits, and were reorganized, but with changes of officers. A few joined Arnold's famous expedition





tion, which suffered so terribly in its march through the Maine forests to Canada. Colonel Patterson's regiment built and garrisoned Fort No. 8, in that part of Charleston now Somerville. On the day of the battle of Bunker Hill this regiment and three others were held in reserve, for the protection of Cambridge, until late in the afternoon, when they were ordered to the hill, but failed to reach it before the Americans were driven from the works. In November the regiment, with some others, was twice highly praised by General Washington for their alacrity in repelling a marauding party at Lechmere Point, East Cambridge, although it was supported by the guns of a frigate.

Both the regiments were employed in the siege of Boston until its evacuation, March 16th, 1776. Both afterward did some distinguished service in the continental army, and both their colonels were made brigadiers.

While the minute men of Berkshire were thus employed others of its soldiers were engaged in services which have rendered them even more conspicuous in American history. On the 6th of December the delegate from Pittsfield in the Provincial Congress, John Brown, was appointed one of a committee to open a correspondence with Canada and obtain frequent intelligence of movements there. The other members were Joseph Hawley, Seth Pomeroy, Samuel Adams, Dr. Warren, and Dr. Church; some of the most eminent patriots of the day. On the 13th of February Colonel Patterson was ordered to bring in a resolve appointing an agent to go to the province of Quebec and there establish a correspondence, collect and transmit the best and earliest intelligence of the sentiments and determination of the inhabitants with regard to the important matters then disturbing the harmony of Great Britain and her colonies. For obvious reasons the name of the agent selected for this delicate mission was not published; but it was John Brown, the most judicious selection possible, which the intimate neighborly relations between the two enabled Colonel Patterson to know well.

Mr. Brown at once set out for Canada. At Albany he learned that Lake Champlain was impassable on account of an extraordinary freshet which had extended the waters, covered with floating ice, twenty miles on each side, especially toward Canada. He waited a fortnight, and then, although the flood had not subsided, determined to proceed at all hazards. As he had been warned he encountered the most imminent and thrilling perils, but, "after fourteen days of inconceivable suffering," reached St. Johns on-the-Sorel about the middle of March. He met the committee of correspondence already established at Montreal, and a delegation from that of Quebec, and obtained from them and many other sources the desired information. Sending the two guides, who had come with him, among the Indian tribes, he obtained confirmation of the charges prevalent in Berkshire, that British emissaries were already instigating them to hostilities, or to be prepared to take part in a British invasion. He traveled through a large part of the country in the guise



of a horse dealer, disseminating patriotic sentiments, and observing the disposition of the people, and, as it afterward appeared, not forgetting to observe the lay of the land from a military point of view. He also established admirably the desired system of correspondence.

He reported all their proceedings in a letter of March 29th, to Samuel Adams and Dr. Joseph Warner of the committee of correspondence at Boston, who, it will be remembered, had also been associated with him on the Canadian committee. In this letter were the following pregnant words :

"One thing I must mention as a profound secret. The fort at Ticonderoga must be seized as soon as possible should hostilities be commenced by the king's troops. The people on New Hampshire Grants have engaged to do this business and, in my opinion, are the most proper persons for the job. This will effectually curb this province and all the troops which may be sent here."

This was the first suggestion, and contained the whole gist, of the plans which resulted in the early capture of the great fortress, with its siege cannon and ammunition, the value of which to the American cause, at that moment, cannot be overestimated. Before writing this advice Mr. Brown had arranged a plan for the capture by surprise, with Ethan Allen and probably with Seth Warner, subject to the approval of those to whom the Provincial Congress and other representatives of the people had entrusted the chief management of affairs.

Mr. Brown's advice was not kept so profound a secret as he desired. It was known at least in the secret councils of Massachusetts and Connecticut, which colonies, as of old, were cordially uniting for the common defense; Massachusetts, as of old, being the first point of attack. Two projects for the capture were rife "as soon as hostilities were commenced by the king's troops."

The first and successful plan for the capture was projected and undertaken by Col. Samuel H. Parsons and five other Connecticut gentlemen. The idea was suggested to Col. Parsons by a conversation with Benedict Arnold, in which he professed to have an accurate account of the cannon at Ticonderoga and the state of its defenses. There is every probability, however, that attention was first drawn to the advantage of taking possession of this fort by the John Brown letter of the 29th; since his recommendation for committing the execution of the work to Ethan Allen was adopted. But the objects of Mr. Brown and those of the Connecticut gentlemen in desiring the capture were distinct as chief points, although each would have acknowledged its importance in the other's view of it. When Mr. Brown's letter was written, the information he had received in Canada had convinced him that the old military bases in this section of North America were to be restored, that the old war paths would be trod anew, and that the utmost advantage would accrue to the party which should first secure this great fortress, which, when in the possession of an invader from Canada, was the key to New England and New York, and when occupied by the friends of an army advancing from the







low was the key to Canada. He wished its possession mostly as a strong and admirably located fortress.

The Connecticut project looked primarily to another end. The siege of Boston had created an imperative demand for siege artillery, which could be procured from no other source than Ticonderoga. The very possession of the desired cannon would enable even a weak garrison, if moderately well supplied with food, to hold the fort indefinitely against all the force which the Americans could bring against it. Surprise was the only hope. Informed of the arrangement with Ethan Allen they resolved to rely upon him for this, and, having procured £300 from the colonial treasury, they sent forward Messrs. Noah Phelps and Bernard Romans on the 27th of April. On the next day Capt. Edward Mott arrived from Cambridge, the headquarters of the American army, and on being questioned as to the best mode of obtaining artillery "for the siege of the British army in Boston" at once proposed the surprise of Ticonderoga. He was then informed of what was on foot, and consented to lead the party which had gone on, adding to it five or six trusty volunteers.

Captain Mott started the next afternoon; but in the forenoon John Hancock and Samuel Adams reached Hartford, on their way to attend the Continental Congress. Both were members of the Massachusetts committee of correspondence, and among the most trusted leaders in the resistance to British tyranny. The Ticonderoga project was naturally communicated to them, and met their warm approval, as well as that of the governor and council of Connecticut, who seem to have been then first apprised of its exact nature. In such an interview Mr. Adams cannot be believed to have left Captain Mott or the Connecticut leaders ignorant of Mr. Brown's previous advice and action. It is clear that he did not; but it is probable that they were before acquainted with them.

Captain Mott having joined the party, which was increased to sixteen, they made their first stop in Berkshire on the 1st of May, at the tavern of Daniel Dewey, in Sheffield, whence they sent two of their number to Albany "to discover the temper of the people at that place." The same night they reached Pittsfield and took up their quarters at the tavern of Colonel James Easton, which stood near the present corner of Park square and South street.

"They had intended to keep their business secret and ride through the country unarmed until they came to the new settlements on the Grants" [the New Hampshire Grants, now the State of Vermont]. But at Colonel Easton's they found John Brown, who, "after establishing a channel of communication which could be depended upon from Canada through the Grants," had just returned home. Him they took into their councils and, by his advice, also their landlord, who was colonel of the Berkshire militia, Captain Israel Dickinson, and two or three other local leaders, Rev. Thomas Allen probably being one. This the unexpected presence of Mr. Brown rendered wise and justifiable, although Captain



Mott had left Hartford with positive instructions not to increase his party beyond the number of sixteen before he reached the Grants.

Notwithstanding Mr. Brown's previously expressed opinion that the Green Mountain Boys were "the proper persons to undertake the job," later observation, aided perhaps by his sympathy with Colonel Easton's ambition that the Berkshire regiment should have a share in it, now led him to concur with the colonel in representing that "as there was great scarcity of provisions on the Grants, and the people were generally poor, it would be difficult to raise a sufficient number of men there."

The commissioners yielding to this persuasion, Colonel Easton's offer to assist with some men from his regiment was accepted. Captain Dickinson and four of five others of Pittsfield were admitted to the party, but it was deemed prudent to add no more there. But, while their associates went on to Bennington, Colonel Easton and Captain Mott crossed the Mountain to Jericho, now Hancock, where they found a ready helper in Captain Asa Douglas, an active and influential patriot of that town. He rapidly enlisted twenty-four men of his company for the expedition. Leaving him to follow with his men, to whom fifteen were added in Williamstown—making a total of forty-seven Berkshire men—Captain Mott and Colonel Easton hastened on to Bennington.

At Bennington they found a portion of their comrades staggered by a report brought by some nameless fellow who pretended that he had just come from Saratoga where the garrison were on the alert and busily repairing their works. Another messenger came with advice for Captain Mott to abandon the enterprise. By brave and eloquent words he revived the courage of his associates, and all resolved to go forward, except Romans, who from the first "had been hit in trouble."

At Bennington Ethan Allen came to them, in prompt response to the notice sent to him. A council of war was held, Col. Easton presiding, and Col. Allen, who was rapidly collecting his Green Mountain boys around him, was directed to send forward patrols to prevent news of their approach reaching Ticonderoga.

They then advanced twenty-five miles to Castleton, where, on the morning of the 8th of May, a plan of further procedure was adopted. Captain Herriek was to go to Skenesboro, capture Major Skene, the royalist, and his party, take what boats he could find, and drop down the lake with them the next night to Shoreham, opposite Ticonderoga, there to ferry the attacking party across. Captain Douglas was sent to Crown Point to hire the king's boats, if he could by some stratagem, aided by his brothers-in-law who lived there. The attacking party was to consist of 145 men. When the men enlisted for the expedition they were assured that they should be commanded by their own officers. It was now agreed that in the general command the chief officers should take rank in proportion to the number of men furnished by each, which made Col. Ethan Allen first, Col. James Easton second. Everything thus far was conducted with perfect harmony, and Col. Allen went forward to







Shoreham to make some preliminary arrangements, leaving Col. Easton in command.

That evening mischief came among the party in the ill-omened shape of Benedict Arnold. This man, who had led a company of men from Connecticut to Cambridge, had there obtained from the committee of safety a commission as colonel and commander of forces not to exceed four hundred, to be raised for the reduction of Ticonderoga. It was his intention to raise his forces in Berkshire, but when he reached the county he found himself forestalled by the expedition already moving toward the fort. In the evening of the 8th he was at Rupert, from which place (spelling the name incorrectly) he sent a call to the committees in the southern towns, mostly in Berkshire, to send forward recruits. The letter which is preserved among the historical papers in the Berkshire Athenæum is as follows:

"Rupert, 8th May, 1777.

"Gentlemen,—By the best information I can get, there is one hundred men, or more, at Ticonderoga, who are alarmed and keep a good lookout. I am also informed, the sloop has gone to St. Johns for provisions; that she had six guns mounted and twenty men. We have only one hundred and fifty men gone on, which are not sufficient to secure the vessels, and keep the lakes; this ought by all means to be done, that we may cut off their communication, and stop all supplies going to the fort, until we can have a sufficient number of men from the lower towns.

"I beg the favor, gentlemen, as far down as this reaches, to exert yourselves, and send forward as many men to join the army here as you can possibly spare. There is plenty of provisions engaged, and on the road for five hundred men six or eight weeks. Let every man bring as much powder and ball as he can, also a blanket. Their wages are forty shillings per month, I humbly engage to see paid; also the blankets.

"I am, gentlemen,

Your humble servant,

BENEDICT ARNOLD,

Commander of the Forces."

"To the Gentlemen in  
the Southern Towns."

From some expressions in this letter it might be inferred that the mysterious warnings conveyed to Captain Mott at Bennington were inspired by him, but his commission was not signed until the 3d of May, and he did not leave Cambridge until the 4th. It is evident, however, that he early had a confidential agent in the vicinity who may have been the anonymous messenger. Otherwise the motive for the false reports is inexplicable. But, setting this aside, it is apparent from the letter that Arnold's scheme for the capture was by a regular siege to be maintained by a force of four or five hundred raw recruits without artillery; his entire dependence being upon starving out the garrison, a method requiring an indefinite length of time; but weeks at the shortest. Nothing could be more unlike the plan so happily devised at Hartford, perfected at Castleton on the very day the letter was written, and successfully carried out the next morning at Ticonderoga. The men of Berkshire and Vermont were throughout the Revolution impatient of dilatory movements or tactics



which long subjected them to military discipline. But that was not the reason which caused them to resist when Arnold, on reaching Castleton, undertook to assume the command of the expedition on the ground that its officers had, as Captain Mott expressed it, "no orders."

Captain Mott and his associates were "shockingly surprised;" for the troops enlisted by Connecticut, receiving her pay, and operating beyond the bounds of Massachusetts, owed no more allegiance to the committee at Cambridge than Captain De la Place's garrison at Ticonderoga did. They utterly refused to surrender to him the troops which they had raised, and Arnold pushed on to overtake Colonel Allen. It seems the party did not yet fully know what manner of man they had for a leader; for, lest Arnold should prevail on Ethan Allen to yield to him, the moment he started, they all followed pell-mell, leaving Captains Mott and Phelps with a single helper to care for the pack horses and baggage as best they could.

If Arnold's conduct shocked the leaders, it bred a mutiny amongst the soldiers, "almost frustrating the plan they were upon." Says Captain Mott, "They were for clubbing their muskets and marching home; but were prevented by Colonels Allen and Easton, who told them that Arnold should not have command over them, if he had their pay should be the same as if they were under their own command. But they would damn the pay and swear they would be commanded by no others but those they had engaged with." And so Arnold, perceiving the folly of issuing commands which none would obey, consented, although still meditating mischief, to join the expedition as a volunteer, marching by the side of Colonel Allen.

The expedition reached Shoreham late in the evening, but none of the expected boats had arrived, and Captain Phelps, who had visited the fort in disguise, was detained with the baggage. No time, however, was to be lost. Nathan Beman, a boy of the neighborhood, acquainted with every nook and cranny of the fort, was engaged as guide, and availing themselves of such scant ferrriage as could be had they began to cross the lake. Barely eighty-three men had crossed when the day began to dawn, and there was no safety but in an immediate advance, while the boats were hastily dispatched for the rear division. Colonel Allen, after a brief, earnest harangue, such as he well knew how to address to his men, led them rapidly and in dead silence up the steep ascent. Before sunrise he entered the gate, the sentinel snapping his fusée, which missed fire, in his face. The surprise was complete. Pursuing the flylog guard the Americans were led directly to the parade ground, where a second sentinel made a bayonet thrust at Colonel Easton: for which courtesy to his friend, Colonel Allen rewarded him by a blow on the head with his sword which induced him to beg for quarter.

The victors were then drawn up on the parade and gave three rousing cheers, which not sufficing to arouse the post-commander, Captain De la Place, Colonel Allen mounted the flight of stairs which, outside the bar-







racks, led to his apartment, and with thundering raps of his sword hilt brought him to the door. Then, in the full view of all, occurred the famous scene of his surrender. The captain, however gallant, could not well resist a man who spoke in the name of Almighty God and the Continental Congress, and was moreover backed by more than 100 loaded muskets.

The Connecticut commission, reporting to the Massachusetts Congress, thus recognized the services of Messrs. Easton and Brown:

"Col. James Easton was of great service, both in council and in action; raising men for the expedition and appearing to be well qualified, not only for colonel of militia at home, but for service in the field.

"John Brown, Esq., of Pittsfield, we recommend as an able counsellor, and full of spirit and resolution. We wish they may both be employed in the service of their country in a situation equal to their merits."

Col. Allen in his report to the congress wrote:—

"The soldiery were composed of 100 Green Mountain Boys and near fifty soldiers of Massachusetts Bay. The latter were commanded by Col. James Easton, who behaved with great zeal and fortitude, not only in council but in the assault. The soldiery behaved with such resistless fury that they so terrified the king's troops that they durst not fire on the assailants; and our soldiery were agreeably disappointed. The soldiery behaved with uncommon rancor when they leaped into the fort and it must be confessed that the colonel has greatly contributed to the taking of that fortress as well as John Brown, Esq., who was personally in the attack."

Colonel Easton in his report highly complimented Captain Israel Dickinson and John Brown.

John Brown was sent to give an account of the capture to the Continental Congress, and Colonel Easton to the Provincial. Both, it need hardly be said, were cordially received. The Congress at Cambridge passed suitable resolutions, and dispatched him with them to Hartford, where he was again received with enthusiasm and handsomely entertained by the authorities. It will be observed throughout this affair that Connecticut having retained her ancient charter, her authorities, elected by the people, acted for the people and not for the king. It affords a good illustration of the difference between a colonial and provincial government.

Every friend of the American cause was inspired, even exhilarated, by the splendid achievements, which, without the cost of a life, but with conspicuous daring, was of vast solid military advantage, and had, at the same time, much of the charm of romance. It added also to the public admiration that all parties engaged in the achievement acted toward each other with consideration, magnanimity and self-abnegation. All except Arnold, whose connection with it was forced and detrimental; if it could be considered a connection at all, unless as an ulcer is attached to healthy flesh. This embryo traitor was pouring complaints into headquarters, and flooding the Massachusetts Congress, the public press, and influential individuals with letters vilifying in the most malignant terms the



heroes who had just met the approval of so glorious a success. It was this which gave to Col. Easton's mission to the Legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut something more than a merely formal or congratulatory character. It was in counteracting the effect of these vile missives that Colonel Easton required all his tact, temper, and energetic ability. By successfully exercising these qualities he incurred the bitter enmity of Arnold, which was extended in still greater measure to John Brown, and which finally drove both from the continental army, but not from the service of their country. The Americans were no sooner in possession of Ticonderoga than Arnold renewed his pretensions to command, on the ground that Ethan Allen was acting under no proper authority. To remedy this Captain Mott, in the name of the colony of Connecticut, drew up and signed a commission, placing him in command of the expedition, and directing him to keep possession until further orders from the colony or the Continental Congress.

In the meantime, under the call sent from Rupert, a considerable body of levies from the Berkshire militia reached Arnold. With these he took the king's sloop upon which he had laid so much stress, and also a sloop belonging to the loyalist, Major Skene. He was thus enabled to establish a rival command upon the lake, while he still claimed that of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Various complications followed. Finally the Provincial Congress and the committee of safety sent a joint committee to investigate the state of affairs and take such measures as in their judgment were called for in regard to it. The committee found Arnold at St. Johns, and handed him their instructions which authorized them "to continue him in the service of Massachusetts with such orders as they saw fit, provided he and his men were willing to remain at one or both of the lake posts under such chief officer as Connecticut might appoint." Then the spirit of Arnold was manifested. In a rage he declared "he would not be second in command to any person whomsoever," and after brooding over the matter for awhile, disbanded the men he had raised and threw up his commission. The committee at once appointed Colonel Easton to fill the vacancy, and gave him John Brown for his major. Arnold's petty spitefulness in disbanding his men who had been brought to Lake Champlain at the public cost caused some annoyance; but the new officers were popular in Berkshire, and found no difficulty in raising all the soldiers needed. Colonel Hinman, of Connecticut, who held the chief command with 1,000 men, was also an officer popular for his ability as well as for his frank and genial manner. The detachment which responded to Arnold's call of May 8th consisted of fifteen men from each of the military companies in and near Pittsfield, under the command of Captain James Noble, a brother of the captain of the Pittsfield and Richmond men. He being entrusted with them for advance pay, almost all of them consented to remain. With an incident in regard to his treatment of this company we close this first part of the story of the dealings of Benedict Arnold with Berkshire soldiers.







The reader will remember his "humble engagement to see paid" the men who came at his call from Rupert. The records of the General Court show how that promise was kept. On the 5th of November, four months after he had shamefully disbanded and deserted them, the committee on Colonel Arnold's accounts reported to the House of Representatives that they found a balance of £36, 5s., 5d., due Noble's company; that Arnold had drawn this amount from the treasury, and that he was now in the continental service and could not then be come at to pay it, and as Noble and his men were in great want of money, the House voted to pay it again. It further resolved to send the charge to General Washington that it might be deducted from Arnold's pay.

On the 9th of May Rev. Thomas Allen wrote to General Pomeroy at Cambridge:

"Should the expedition succeed, and should the Council of War send up their orders for the people this way to transport by land twenty or thirty of the best cannon to headquarters I doubt not but the people of this county would do it with expedition. We could easily raise a thousand yoke of oxen for the business."

Rumors of a probable and formidable invasion from Canada via Lake Champlain caused an opposition to the removal of the cannon. The fortifications of Fort Ticonderoga were found to be in such condition as to be indefensible, and much of the ordnance was removed to Crown Point for safety, and work for the repairs of both works was soon commenced. A considerable number of the cannon were also found in bad condition. In January, 1776, however, some of the cannon and mortars best adapted to siege service were transported to Cambridge, by way of Albany, Great Barrington, Monterey (then part of Tynghamton), and Westfield; but not in the manner suggested by Parson Allen. Says Mr. Taylor in his history of Great Barrington: "This expedition was in charge of Gen. Henry Knox, who, with extraordinary labor, removed the artillery from Ticonderoga to Fort George, and thence with 'near 124 pair of horses' with sleighs brought it to Albany. \* \* \* General Knox passed through Great Barrington January 9th, and arrived at Monterey, having, as he writes, 'climbed mountains from which we might almost have seen all the mountains of the earth.'"

Cannon supposed to be sufficient for the defense of the repaired fortifications at Ticonderoga against any invasion then probable were, however, left. Thus both the object proposed by Mr. Brown for the capture and that of the Connecticut authorities were served; the latter perfectly, and it was only by a stupid neglect in subsequent engineering that the fort did not afford a serious check to the advance of Burgoyne in 1777.

The ambitious and restless spirits who met in the expedition against Ticonderoga looked further than merely to its capture, brilliant as was the eclat acquired by that exploit. To the imagination of each that was but the gateway of a grand campaign soon to open, in which they saw unwon opportunities for distinguishing themselves.

John Brown, in his first visit to Canada, observed that the presence



of a sympathizing military force from below was essential to the preservation and increase of the embryo party there, which was in league with the patriots of the more southern colonies; and he considered the earliest possible moment the best for a march upon Montreal. And so did Ethan Allen and Easton. Probably all three were to some degree influenced by the memory, so deeply impressed upon all Western Massachusetts minds, that the complete subjugation of Canada in 1761 alone put an end to the hostile raids from that section. The renewal of these raids was the supreme dread of Western Massachusetts, Vermont, and what was then Northern New York, from the beginning of the revolution to the surrender of Burgoyne. All three were also fond of daring and dashing adventure, Brown and Allen almost to the point of rashness.

Arnold, widely as he differed from the others in purity of character and methods of procedure, was quite as daring, and of too quick perception not to have the same anticipations. It was not for a merely local command that he contended so bitterly, after all the glory to be acquired by the capture of the fort had been already won by others.

The first formal recommendation of the invasion of Canada on record is that of Ethan Allen to the New York Congress, on the 2d of June. But Col. Easton was certainly quite as early in advising the measure, for in a letter of June 6th to the Massachusetts Congress—referring to a previous communication, probably made orally during his visit to Watertown in the middle of May—he wrote: “I still retain my sentiments that policy demands that the colonies should advance an army of two or three thousand men into Canada and environ Montreal.” In truth Allen, Brown, and Easton were united in pressing this movement. Arnold’s ambition also looked to Canada, but, after his experience at Lake Champlain, he chose another route.

In June Gen. Schuyler was appointed commander of the Northern Department, where he found a garrison of 1,000 Connecticut men under Col. Hinman, and Col. Easton’s small Berkshire corps composed of six incomplete companies. Col. Easton and Major Brown were absent taking measures to fill up their regiment. To Schuyler, a thoroughly educated officer, the garrison appeared “good looking people, not lacking in courage but with a shocking laxity of discipline.” He thought he could make excellent soldiers of them “as soon as he could get the better of that nonchalance of theirs.” This he never succeeded in doing; but, for all that, in active service their discipline improved, and with or without it they did make excellent soldiers.

It was well understood that Gen. Carleton, who commanded the British forces in Canada, was meditating an early attempt to regain possession of Lakes Champlain and George, preparatory to an invasion of the country below, and the inhabitants there feared that his movement was only delayed in order to perfect his alliance with the savages. Calls were therefore made upon Gen. Schuyler from every side for an immediate







advance to anticipate such an invasion before preparations for it could be completed.

Men and material for such an enterprise were, however, scantily supplied, and the general was greatly perplexed by the difficulty of obtaining reliable information from the proposed field of operation, in which all reasonable hope of success depended upon conditions of which he was profoundly ignorant. On the 21st of July he wrote the Continental Congress that the only man upon whom he could rely for obtaining this necessary information had suddenly fallen sick. At this moment Major Brown fortunately returned, and immediately set out on his second reconnoitering visit to Canada. He reached the border after six tedious days' travel through a dismal swamp, in the dark recesses of which his party of five encamped for three nights. He penetrated the country in the guise of a horse buyer, and remained four days. He speaks of the kindness of the French Canadians as "indescribable," and confesses that but for their aid, several times, he must have fallen into the hands of the enemy. The shrewd country people nevertheless did not fail to observe that "he was an odd sort of a jockey who never found a nag to his liking." Some ill disposed persons gave information to the military who surrounded the house where he lodged at night. He escaped through a back window, and although hotly pursued for two days by two squads of fifty men each he evaded them by the information given by friendly Canadians and got out of the country August 3d.

He reported to General Schuyler at Crown Point on the 4th, only one day later than that which he had fixed for his return, having not only accomplished the prime object of his mission but having opened a correspondence with James Livingston, of Chamblée, on the Sorel, an intelligent, active and patriotic gentleman, who thereafter furnished the most correct, timely, and important information to the American commanders.

What he had learned in Canada made Major Brown and his commander both still even more anxious than they had been for the earliest possible advance; but the last of August found his army still weak and ill appointed. Colonel Easton's regiment consisted of barely 200 men, one-third of whom were reported sick. Nevertheless information received by Major Brown precipitated a movement. Immediately after his return from Canada, he had been placed in command of the flotilla on the lake. He now ventured on a personal scout as far as the Isle aux Noix, a few miles below St. Johns, where, by sending messengers to his friend, Livingston, he obtained information that the vessels which were before known to be building by the British on the Sorel were in such a state of forwardness and were so formidable in their armament that unless the American army moved within ten days it would be necessary to fortify at Isle aux Noix or at Windmill Point; "otherwise there would be the most imminent danger that the British fleet would sweep the lake, and compel the abandonment of the expedition against Canada for that year at least.



Major Brown communicated these facts to General Montgomery, who was acting as Schuyler's lieutenant, in a letter for the dictatorial style of which he made the exigency of the occasion his apology. Accordingly, on the 31st of August, the little army embarked, consisting of barely 1,200 men, all of them from Connecticut and Berkshire except a few from the New Hampshire Grants. The army having been overtaken by General Schuyler appeared before St. Johns September 6th, 2,000 strong.

The siege proved tedious. Schuyler, probably weakened by illness, began to show the irresolution and timidity in meeting difficulties of the military situation which, in spite of his undoubted personal bravery and skill as an officer, so often marred his northern campaigns, and finally led the jealous people of Berkshire to distrust his fidelity rather than his capacity. The army landed under an ineffectual fire from the garrison, and had a slight skirmish with a party of Indians. Everything appeared to be going well. But in the evening one of those mysterious visitors, such as came to Captain Mott's party at Bennington, visited the general. He was "a man who appeared to be friendly and intelligent," and he stated that all the British force in Canada, except fifty, were in garrison at St. Johns, which, as well as Chamblee, he represented to be strongly fortified and well prepared for a siege; that 100 Indians were in the fort, and a large body under Sir John Johnson hovering near; that a sixteen gun vessel was at St. Johns, ready to weigh anchor; that not a single Canadian would join the insurgent standard. Almost all this terrifying story afterward proved to be false; but the general gave it full credence, and a council of war, to which it was submitted, determined to fall back to the Isle aux Noix, await reinforcements, and prevent the passage of the sixteen gun ship into the lake where she would have cut them off.

While all this was going on Major Brown and Ethan Allen were in Canada, where they had gone by Schuyler's orders to disseminate his address to the inhabitants assuring them of his friendly intentions. This dangerous service having been performed they found Livingston, who had collected a small body of Canadian recruits, with which they attempted to return to the army, but were deterred by learning that a large body of Indians lay in wait for them. Major Brown, nevertheless, made his way through with a demand from Livingston for a party to cut off communication between St. Johns and the country, promising that they should be joined on their arrival by a considerable number of Canadians. Colonel Ritzema was ordered to respond to this call; but a series of disgraceful panics prevented the execution of the plan.

On the 16th General Schuyler was compelled by long ill health to return to Ticonderoga, leaving Montgomery in command. But a second advance of the army had previously been arranged for the 16th; and, in anticipation of it, Major Brown was dispatched with 100 Americans and 80 Canadians toward Chamblee to keep up the spirits of those friends in that quarter. This little detachment was the first of the American army which can properly be said to have entered Canada, and with it Major







Brown penetrated to the gates of Chamblee. There he left one half his force, while with the remainder he cut off communication between St. Johns and the interior, took several prisoners, and intercepted eight cars going to the fort laden with rum and gun carriages for the armed vessels which threatened the lake. General Montgomery, being delayed by a storm, did not encamp before St. Johns until the evening of the 17th. The next morning he crossed with 500 men to the north side of the Sagel where he had directed Brown to join him. But Brown, trusting to his earlier arrival, which was prevented by the inexperience of his raw troops in marching, had imprudently thrown his little company before a superior force of the king's troops and been repulsed. Montgomery's corps came up, however, in time to turn the fortunes of the day and secure the booty which Brown had bethought himself to hide before the engagement.

The siege of St. Johns having been formally commenced Major Brown and Ethan Allen were ordered to La Prairie and Longueil to recruit a corps of Canadians, which, although they were successful, led to a most unhappy affair. Brown was so fortunate as to capture a quantity of stores intended for the Indians who had been induced by General Carleton to operate against the Americans at La Prairie. On the 20th of September Allen had 250 Canadians under arms, and boasted to Montgomery that in a week or two he could obtain one or two thousand: Brown had about the same number. All was going on with the most encouraging promise, when the all important work was interrupted by one of those tempting opportunities which neither seems to have been capable of resisting.

Allen, desirous of taking a personal part in the capture of St. Johns, set out for that place on the 24th of September, with a guard of eighty men. He had gone, however, only about two miles from Longueil when, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, nearly opposite Montreal, he met Major Brown who proposed a plan for the capture of that city by surprise, which he thought might easily be effected by their combined forces. No project could have been more fascinating to the captor of Ticonderoga. He readily assented and a plan of operations was agreed upon. Allen was to cross the river at night in canoes, a little below the city; Brown with his corps of 200 was to cross above, and a simultaneous attack was to be made on the signal of three huzzas from the latter. After its failure, this plan was denounced as rash and impracticable, but it would probably have succeeded had neither party failed to keep his appointment.

The night was so rough and the canoes that could be obtained were so small that Brown supposed that Allen would defer the attempt, as he did; but at the appointed time, having increased his force to 110 by the addition of thirty Anglo-Americans, Allen was over the river. He waited for the co-operating corps impatiently and anxiously until the sun was two hours high, when, as he writes, he "began to suspect that he was in



a *premunire*." It was too late to retreat. A prisoner who escaped from his guard had carried information of his position to the city. The canoes which carried them over were not sufficient to carry one-third of the number back before the enemy would be upon them. All but thirty-eight finally abandoned him but he could not find it consistent with his sense of honor to abandon any. He therefore sent messengers to Major Brown and Mr. Walker asking aid; and stood his ground manfully for an hour and three quarters, when attacked by about forty regulars and a city rabble of about 200. A smart skirmish ensued, with some loss of life on each side; but, no re-enforcements appearing, he was compelled to capitulate, and, in violation of the terms of surrender, to enter upon that long and cruel imprisonment the rigors of which have awakened the sympathy of every reader of Revolutionary story. But his treatment shows at what rate the British government estimated their loss of Ticonderoga.

Allen attributed his disaster to Brown's failure to keep his appointment, of which both he and his friends spoke bitterly; but Gen. Montgomery and all the officers who mentioned the affair in their correspondence fixed the blame on his own rashness and obstinacy. But Allen's comrades did not grant the same indulgence to his infirmities of temper, which posterity, with a just and grateful memory of his heroic patriotism, has accorded. In any view of the unfortunate occurrence, we are compelled to believe that, if we were fully acquainted with all the circumstances, John Brown would be acquitted of all blame, except perhaps for proposing the scheme in the first place. If he had failings as an officer they certainly did not lie in the direction of excessive prudence, sluggishness in action, or remissness in duty. Of treachery he was incapable. It is much also that by this affair he lost nothing of the very high favor in which he was held by that noble commander, Gen. Montgomery.

September passed into October, and still the siege of St. Johns lingered, and was greatly retarded by the lack of ammunition. It was even feared that this lack would compel its abandonment altogether. General Schuyler earnestly appealed to the New York Congress for at least five tons; all that their most zealous exertions could procure was 1,400 pounds. Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, with all his willingness to do what he could, had none to spare. The Continental Congress ordered a single ton from New York city. But what he needed from all sources would not last Montgomery until the 18th of October.

Happily a method of relieving the army from this serious strait was suggested to Major Brown. At Chamblee, on the Sorel, stood a strongly constructed fort containing a large quantity of gunpowder and other military stores, but feebly armed and garrisoned. Carleton believing that the Americans could not approach its walls with artillery until they had taken St. Johns, which commanded the river twelve miles above—that is, twelve miles nearer Lake Champlain. But some of Livingston's Canadians volunteered to place cannon upon batteaux, in the manage-







ment of which they were daring experts, and take them at night past the fortifications of St. Johns. This they accomplished on a dark night. Major Brown, who had been entrusted with the enterprise by Montgomery, took part in the perilous feat, and about fifty American soldiers appeared with him before the fort, when he was re-enforced by Major Livingston with 300 Canadians.

Major Stopford, the commander of the fort, was completely surprised, and hopeless of relief, and proposed articles of capitulation, among which was the extraordinary condition that the garrison should be permitted to march out unmolested, drums beating, colors flying, with their arms, accoutrements, twenty-four rounds of ammunition each, carts and provisions sufficient to march by the shortest route to Montreal or any other place in the province at the option of Major Stopford. Of course, Major Brown found it impossible to accept this cool proposition, and the fort with its garrison and stores was surrendered on the 18th. The prisoners were one major, three captains, three lieutenants, one commissary, one surgeon, with eighty-three non-commissioned officers and privates of the Royal Fusiliers. The provisions found in the fort were eighty barrels of flour, eleven barrels of rice, seven barrels of peas, six firkins of butter, 134 barrels of pork. These were of great service, but the grand acquisition was 134 barrels of gunpowder, 300 swivel shot, one box of musket shot, 6,564 musket cartridges, 154 stand of French arms, three royal mortars, sixty-one shells, 500 hand grenades, rigging for at least three vessels, and the arms and accoutrements of the eighty-three fusiliers. These were at least as acceptable for the siege of St. Johns as the cannon captured at Ticonderoga were for that of Boston. The possession of Fort Chamblee also gave the Americans the command of the river below St. Johns, so that the place was invested on all sides. Overjoyed at so splendid an acquisition, General Montgomery thus announced it to Gen. Schuyler:

"Dear General:—I have the pleasure to acquaint you with the surrender of Chamblee to Majors Brown and Livingston. I send you the colors of the Seventh regiment and a list of the stores taken. Major Brown assures me we have got six tons of powder, which by the blessing of God will do our business here. Major Brown offered his services on this occasion. Upon this and all occasions I have found him active and intelligent."

The Continental Congress being informed of the achievement instructed a delegation which it was about sending to the army "to assure Majors Brown and Livingston that the Congress had a just sense of their important services and would take the first proper opportunity to reward them." Livingston was made a colonel of Canadian volunteers. How Major Brown was received will presently appear.

St. Johns surrendered November 2d. Both during the siege and previously it had suffered severely from disease induced by insufficient shelter, unwholesome food, and lack of medical stores. Between the 24th of July and the 12th of October, 143 of its men were sent home invalided,



but their places were more than filled by new recruits, for at the close of the siege the corps numbered about 300 men. We have no certain knowledge of what its services had been. Major Brown was almost constantly employed on detached special duty.

As soon as the surrender of St. Johns was certain, Colonel Easton—Major Brown having rejoined him—pushed his command, consisting of his own and Colonel Livingston's larger regiment of Canadians, rapidly down the Sorel, driving before him Allen McLenn, who commanded an irregular body of king's men. McLenn attempted to fortify at Sorel, at the point formed by the junction of the Sorel with the St. Lawrence, but was driven from his works by Easton, who proceeded at once to complete and strengthen them: so that, in a few days, mounted with three twelve pound cannon, one nine, and two sixes, they effectually commanded the passage of the St. Lawrence.

On the 6th Major Brown was patrolling the north bank of the St. Lawrence, intending to raise a party to cover Montgomery's landing before Montreal; but on that day he learned that General Carleton had informed the citizens of his intention to quit the place within a couple of days. He sent this information to General Montgomery with a request that he might be permitted to leave his post at Sorel and enter the city with the army, which he did on the 13th.

On the night of the 12th Carleton with his garrison, some prominent loyalists, and such stores as he could take, expected to drop quietly down the river to Quebec. On the 17th he was still vainly endeavoring to pass Colonel Easton's batteries, and Montgomery wrote that the colonel had "not only prevented it but twice compelled him to move up the river." He added that he was himself making all despatch to attack the fleet from his side, but it capitulated on the 19th, General Carleton having escaped in a boat with muffled oars during the preceding night which happened to be very dark.

With the fleet there fell into the hands of the Americans General Prescott—infamous for his ill treatment of Ethan Allen—thirteen other officers, 120 privates, and several prominent loyalist gentlemen. Of ordnance, small arms, and other military stores the fleet was found to contain two nine and two six-pound cannon, two or three smaller guns, three barrels of gunpowder, a large quantity of artillery cartridges and ball, 2,300 musket cartridges, eight chests of small arms besides those borne by the prisoners, 760 barrels of flour, 675 barrels of beef, 317 firkins of butter, 200 pairs of shoes, a large quantity of intrenching tools, &c. Truly the Berkshire men were doing a great deal to provide for this little army which entered on its campaign so illly appointed with all the necessities for it.

"Colonel Easton's regiment," wrote Montgomery to Schuyler, "while employed in this important service of stopping the fleet were half naked, and the weather was very severe. I was afraid not only that they might grow impatient and relinquish the business in hand, but I saw the reduc-







taunce the troops in Montreal had to quit it. \* \* \* By way of stimulant, I offered as a reward all public stores taken in the vessels except ammunition and provisions to the troops who went forward." But this stimulant induced only Bedel's New Hampshire regiment to forsake their comfortable quarters in the city to share the labors and the honors of the half naked and almost shelterless Berkshire men at Sorel.

With the capture of this fleet, a flotilla on the upper St. Lawrence, the first northern campaign closed; for, although the war in Canada continued with little interruption, the arrival of Arnold soon afterward at Quebec caused it to assume a new character when operations were resumed before that city.

The great services rendered to the expedition by the chief Berkshire officers were handsomely acknowledged. On the 22d of November Montgomery wrote to Schuyler: "Colonel Easton has shown so much zeal and activity in the important service he has been employed upon that I think myself obliged to speak of him in the warmest terms of acknowledgment." Other letters in which his commander warmly eulogized Colonel Easton will be referred to hereafter. For Major Brown, Montgomery had the warmest friendship and esteem. Even Schuyler wrote to the Continental Congress that he had "certainly in the course of the last year done extraordinary services." In October, 1776, five of the best officers associated with him in this campaign certified that in it he "was the most active man in the army, being employed in the beginning of the campaign in long, tedious scouts, and in the latter part before the army with a detachment."

A well authenticated tradition has been handed down that the cannonading at the battle of Bunker Hill was heard by various persons in Berkshire. At Lee, persons digging a well heard the reports with peculiar distinctness. In Pittsfield, several men of undoubted veracity declared that they heard them. In Cummington, in the adjacent county of Hampshire, some recruits going to the army, and reclining on the ground for a rest, were startled by the sound. So in other towns. By bringing the ear to the earth the sounds became much more clear. The character of the witnesses who continued to aver the truth of this story from June 17th, 1775, until their death forbade all doubt of their sincerity, though many supposed that their excited imaginations had transformed some nearer natural sound into these weird and ghostly echoes of battle; but in considering the probable truth of the story it must be remembered that the intervening space between Charles-town and Berkshire was then free from the noises of railroads, manufactories, and cities which now abound. Remembering this, the invention of the telephone has removed all improbability from a tradition which there was before much inclination in some quarters to scout.

During the year 1775 certain assignments of public duties were made to the towns of the province after careful examination of their wealth



population, and capacity otherwise, which will afford some basis for estimating their relative position at that time. On the 1st of May the following assignment was made of the number of pair of Boston to be received by each Berkshire town, not as paupers but distressed friends:

Sheffield, 54; Great Barrington, 24; Stockbridge, 25; Pittsfield, 31; New Marlboro, 30; Egremont, 12; Richmond, 23; Lenox, 16; Tyringham, 12; Lanesboro, 32; Sandisfield, 23; Williamstown, 20; East Hoosac, 10.

July 12th a call was made for coats for the army with the following assignment: Sheffield, 61; Great Barrington, 37; Stockbridge, 20; Pittsfield, 37; New Marlboro, 34; Egremont, 14; Richmond, 26; Lenox, 16; Tyringham, 14; Lanesboro, 37; Sandisfield, 26; Williamstown, 21; Becket, 10; Gageboro, 12; Partridgefield, 7; East Hoosac, 11; Jericho, 5; Plantations 5 and 7, seven each.

Early in August, 1775, Washington found that he could very well spare from the army besieging Boston a detachment of 1,000 or 1,200 men for a movement against Quebec by the way of the Kennebec River in Maine. This expedition was suggested by Col. Brewer, of Massachusetts; but the commander in chief gave the command to Arnold, who had ingratiated himself with him, although he was filling the camp with loud mouthed complaints against the men who were, at that moment or soon after, doing the same splendid service in Canada, which they had already done at Ticonderoga.

The little army entrusted to him numbered 1,100 when it left Cambridge, September 15th, and was, by extreme suffering from hunger, exposure, and disease, reduced to less than 900 effective men when it reached Point Levi, opposite Quebec, November 9th. There were a number of Berkshire soldiers among them, but no distinctive Berkshire corps.

Arnold, eager to distinguish himself before the arrival of his superior officer, made some bold demonstrations against the city, but learning that Carleton was approaching from Montreal he retreated to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles above. There, on the first of December, he was found by Montgomery, who assumed command of the combined forces which, in all, did not count so many effective men as Arnold had brought to Point Levi: so rapidly had their battalions been depleted by disease and the expiration of enlistments.

Montgomery soon discovered that an attempt must be made to storm the city; and night assaults were planned, to be made simultaneously upon the upper and lower towns by divisions led respectively by himself and Arnold in person, with feints in two or three other quarters. But he was much chagrined to find three companies of Arnold's detachment refusing to serve under him in the attack, although eager to act with either of the other parties.

He had been much struck with the superiority of Arnold's troops to his own in discipline and subordination; and he was annoyed and displeased by a proceeding which might lead to a deterioration of both divi-







sions in those qualities. Being also satisfied that the recusant companies had no just cause of complaint against their commander he refused to make the change which they demanded. Still the dissatisfaction was so great that the proposed plan was given up. Montgomery attributed the disaffection to a certain Captain —— who had incurred Arnold's displeasure, and a certain field officer who, as he thought, desired a separate command of the recusant companies, and he added: "I fear my friend —— is deeply concerned in this business. I will have an *éclaircissement* with him on the subject." The names here supplied by dash lines are carefully erased from the original letter; but it has been assumed, with much to favor the supposition, that the friend alluded to was Major Brown. Major Brown had known Arnold well before the war, having studied law with his cousin, Oliver Arnold, of Providence. He had gained a further insight into his character in the Ticonderoga affair, and fully believed that the incipient traitor would have sold the flotilla on Lake Champlain to the British commander at St. Johns if he had not been prevented by the vigorous measures of Colonel Easton. This opinion he expressed long before Arnold's treason at West Point, when, indeed, he was dead. It is entirely probable that he had given his views to Montgomery with bitter force; and hence the fear of the latter that he was involved in the insubordination of Arnold's troops. The *éclaircissement* probably dispelled this suspicion. If there had been any ground for it it would not have escaped the vigilant Arnold, who would not have failed to make it a prominent charge in the acrimonious hand-to-hand conflict which they carried on for the ensuing two years. So reckless were his charges that no one can believe that he would have waited even for a semblance of proof had the rumour come to his ears that his enemy had been guilty of a crime so odious to every commander, and especially to Washington and Schuyler, as incitement to mutiny.

As the time approached when the enlistment of Colonel Easton's men would expire Major Brown willingly yielded to General Montgomery's desire that he should remain in the service and attempt to raise a regiment from the men about to be disbanded from the men in his own and other corps. From this source, with a considerable number of recruits from Berkshire, he was able by the 23d of January to muster a respectable number of men. In the meantime events occurred which changed the whole face of affairs.

Colonel Easton's regiment was mustered out of service December 31st. On the day previous occurred the disastrous attack on Quebec, which cost the American armies the noble Montgomery. The assault was made in two divisions, commanded respectively by Montgomery and Arnold in person. A part of Colonel Easton's regiment was in the command of Montgomery, who fell mortally wounded while gallantly leading his men. Arnold, while no less gallantly leading his, was



wounded in the leg and carried off the field. The attack was abandoned. We need not enter here into the sad and familiar details.

No officer in the patriot ranks fell during the war whose death was so much to be regretted as that of Richard Montgomery—not even Warren—and no especial locality had so much cause to mourn his loss as the county of Berkshire.

General Wooster, who succeeded to the chief command in Canada, kept his quarters quietly in Montreal during the winter, while Arnold doggedly maintained the siege of Quebec, where Carleton held out, confident that relief would reach him from England as soon as spring opened navigation on the St. Lawrence.

Colonel Brown was now under the immediate command of his great enemy and was posted with his regiment at the advance post, within cannon shot of the city fortifications. His apprehensions are indicated in several of his letters. "A plenty of 36 lb. balls," said he in a letter to his father, February 7th, "come to our door without hands. Two of them we use for andirons." Writing to his wife, March 15th, he expressed great pleasure in the rumor that General Lee was near at hand. "Gen. Arnold and I," said he, "do not agree very well. I expect another storm [of Quebec] soon and that I must be the Uriah. Yesterday the enemy made a sally on our working party, as it was said with 500 men. Gen. Arnold immediately ordered me to attack them with my detachment which consists of 200 men, one half of them sick in the hospital. I accordingly marched against the enemy who retired too quick for me to attack them. I expect to be punished for disobedience of orders next."

On the 25th of June the Massachusetts Assembly resolved to raise 5,000 men to reinforce the continental troops in Canada and at New York, and the quota of Berkshire was assigned as follows: Sheffield, 27; Great Barrington, 16; West Stockbridge, 6; Pittsfield, 17; New Marlboro, 15; Egremont, 9; Richmond, 14; Glass Works Grant and part of Hartwood [afterward united in the town of Lee], 5; Stockbridge, 14; Lenox, 3; Tyringham, 11; Loudon [Otis], 4; Alford, 6; Lanesboro, 19; New Ashford, 3; Sandisfield, 14; Plantation of Hartwood [Washington], 5; Williamstown, 13; Becket, 6; Gageborough [Windsor], 7; Partridgefield [Peru], 5; East Hoosac [Adams and North Adams], 9; Jericho [Hancock], 9; New Providence [Cheshire], 6.

By means of this call and with other reinforcements from New England, General Wooster's force was increased by April 1st to 3,000. But of these about 800 lay sick with small pox.

General Thomas succeeded General Wooster in command May 1st, Theodore Sedgwick of Stockbridge being one of his aids; but Burgoyne bringing succor soon afterward to the British garrison in Quebec, the Americans were compelled to abandon the siege and completely evacuate Canada.

Captain Noble, the brave and generous commander of the Pittsfield







and Richmond minute men of 1775, died at Crown Point in July, of the secondary effects of small pox. Many of the Berkshire men died of that and other diseases during the campaign or, after their return home, from disease contracted in it.

The calamitous termination of the Canadian campaign brought to its culmination the distrust of General Schuyler, which had been growing up after his appointment to the command of the northern department, among the radical whigs of Berkshire county, the New Hampshire Grants, and some sections of New York. Possibly his old and prominent connection with the controversy concerning the Westernhook Patent may have created an early prejudice against him. But, setting that entirely aside, he was a conservative whig, one of a class particularly obnoxious to the radicals who, after the opening of the war, ruled Berkshire, and thought the conservatives but a shade better than the tories, if any. Schuyler and the radicals stood upon planes so entirely different that they could not at all understand each other. He had no faculty to win their confidence and friendship as Montgomery did, and when they found the advantages, which had been gained chiefly by their own officers and soldiers, lost under his management or that of his lieutenants they were naturally ready to charge him rather with treachery than with incapacity. In truth, unblemished patriot, gallant soldier, and safe statesman, and noble spirited gentleman as he was known to have been, he was nevertheless entirely unfitted for the command to which he was assigned, in which it was necessary to rely to a large extent upon what was almost a partisan soldiery, and which was certainly impetuous. Ever ready to rally upon a sudden emergency, to march as long as an advance was made, to join in the most dangerous and even seemingly rash enterprises, yet if an opportunity to meet the enemy was not speedily accorded them they grew impatient of the necessary restraints of military discipline; often with baleful results to their own health. This class of soldiers was not to the mind of Schuyler, who declared he would rather have one Virginian than three of them. And still they alone in his department won victories, and always won them in their own way, as the Stockbridge chief when volunteering declared that he could only fight in his. And yet they were of a class which a commander of real genius could have readily won to submit to his wishes, even in a matter so repugnant to them as the routine discipline of an army, and rendered them so devoted to himself that they would have followed him to the death in serrled ranks, as they did their own loved officers in a less regular fashion.

As the soldiers in the field, so were the committees at home, although more inclined to command than obey. Many of them, of narrow experience in affairs, and wanting that liberality toward opponents which contact with the great world brings, could not explain the perhaps over generous sentiments of Schuyler, and patriots like him, toward some of those whom they themselves classed indiscriminately as the enemies of American liberty, except on the theory of his sympathy with their Toryism.



Between Schuyler and these committees conflict was inevitable. When the news of the sad aspect of affairs in Canada was followed by that of the miserable termination of an enterprise on which they had built such high hopes the Berkshire committees, and with them the great mass of the people, were driven wild with grief and indignation, and they held Schuyler responsible for it all, notwithstanding he was personally in the field but a very brief time at the opening of the first campaign. They made no allowance for the difficulty he found in obtaining men and munitions of war, and waited for no explanations. They were under a craziness like that which the alleged mad-house plot brought upon the Protestants of England in the time of Charles II., and their methods of procedure were very similar, save that they resulted in no blood.

Credence was given to the basest informers and to hearsay testimony three times removed. Out of the evidence thus elicited some of the more violent of the committee men, who favored whatever augmented the popular hatred of moderate whigs and tories, formed the outlines of a hellish plot of whose reality they succeeded in convincing themselves and the majority of the people of the community. The parties to this diabolical plot they imagined to be General Schuyler and his friends, the British government and the tories. It was alleged sometimes that all but two members of the New York Provincial Congress were privy to it. The gist of this plan was that Schuyler's New York forces, or as many of them as would not excite suspicion, were to be stationed in the forts along the Hudson River and the lakes from New York city to Canada, and that on an appointed day they were simultaneously to raise the British flag and permit the king's troops and ships to pass up the river, cutting off communication between the northern and southern colonies. So earnest was the faith of the people of Berkshire in this fiction that its whole length was patrolled, day and night, and preparations were made to kindle beacon fires in case of alarm—but for what reasonable purpose one cannot imagine at this day. An officer in charge of money to pay Massachusetts troops on the Hudson was stopped by the patrol at Great Barrington, and he judged it best to return to Westfield rather than attempt to proceed, as he would not have been permitted to do in the excited state of the people, which he describes with much force.

Letters were sent to Washington, some charging Schuyler with downright treason, others leaving a doubt between treachery and incompetence. Matthew Aldgate, chairman of the king's district committee, wrote "discovering to the commander in chief a glimmering of such a hellish plot as has seldom appeared in the world since the fall of Adam by the grand deceiver and supplanter of truth." All these communications alike were handed over by Washington to Schuyler, with the warmest expressions of continued confidence in his ability as well as his integrity. The New York Congress, to whom Captain Douglas, of Hancock, was sent to personally prefer charges against the commander of the department, treated them as scornfully as Washington did, and when





Schuyler demanded a court of inquiry, refused it as altogether unnecessary.

Such in brief was the famous affair of Schuyler and the Berkshire committees. The conduct of almost all the committee men, little ground as there was for it, was doubtless inspired by a sincere and jealous love for their country, however unwise it was manifested; but in the minds of the more calm and conservative class of their fellow-patriots this, together with the more justifiable refusal to permit the holding of the courts until a constitution was adopted, created a prejudice against Berkshire which continued far into the nineteenth century. It probably also had a very prejudicial effect upon the issue of the controversy of Colonels Brown and Easton, whose story we are about to continue.

Soon after the death of General Montgomery, John Brown, claiming the rank of colonel which had been given him by that commander, was refused it by Arnold. On demanding the reason, he first learned that he and Colonel Easton were charged by their arch-enemy with certain military crimes, the chief of which was plundering the baggage of British officers taken at Sorel. Conscious of entire innocence both immediately demanded a court martial. Arnold refused to order it, but said that the commander in chief of the expedition, then at Montreal, would doubtless gratify them with a trial. Brown asked permission to send an officer to Montreal to make the demand, to which Arnold assented, but delayed the messenger until he could anticipate him by a letter, which afterward fell into Brown's hands, and which urged General Wooster to deny the request; and that commander was weak enough to put off this demand for a simple act of justice by a promise to attend to it when he reached Quebec, which he did on the first of April. Then, to Brown's renewed petition strongly urging immediate action on the ground of the uncertain future of war, he answered only with neglect.

When General Thomas took command on the first of May he readily consented to order the court of inquiry; but his sad death by small-pox on the 2d of June defeated this, like many other good results which had been hoped for from his command.

Colonel Brown then appealed for justice to the department commander; but Schuyler, on the ardent advice of Arnold, and bitterly prejudiced against every Berkshire man, "deemed it inexpedient to call a court."

July came, and the term for which Colonel Brown's men had enlisted having expired, he, with Colonel Easton, repaired to Philadelphia, and in a firm but respectful petition demanded justice. Congress on the 30th resolved that the request for a court of inquiry was reasonable, and desired General Schuyler to order it as soon as possible.

On the first of August, Congress, upon the recommendation of the Board of War, to which it had referred the matter, determined that John Brown should be allowed the rank and pay of a lieutenant colonel from the 20th of the previous November, and that James Easton was en-





titled to the rank of colonel from the first day of July, 1775, and the pay of colonel from that day until he should be discharged, which ought to be as soon as a court of inquiry should report in his favor, or a court martial should determine upon his conduct and its sentence be carried in to execution.—there being no vacancy to which he could be appointed; but, should he be honorably acquitted, his past services would recommend him to the confidence of Congress for further employment.

In the previous February Col. Easton had applied to Washington to be reappointed to a regiment in the Northern army, and, in necessarily referring him to Congress, Washington wrote:—"The services you have done your country in the last campaign, mentioned in the letter to you from the late gallant Gen. Montgomery, merit the acknowledgments of the public."

He made a claim for payment of services in the surprise of Ticonderoga, but while Congress paid a strong tribute of praise for his services in that expedition and afterward, it was obliged to refer the settlement of his accounts to the committee of Albany; in the meanwhile, "as he was in want of money," advancing him £200. In regard to his application for a court of inquiry Congress instructed its commissioners in Canada to make inquiry into his conduct there and report the result, in order that justice might be done him. But a new difficulty beset him. By the instigation of Arnold and some of his old tory enemies he was thrown into prison for a debt of "fifteen hundred pounds York currency." He applied to Congress, stating the facts and the necessity of his proceeding to Canada to settle his accounts, and was by its order "emancipated." The evacuation of Canada soon followed, and he appears to have abandoned all further attempts to obtain justice, at least as against Arnold. He retired from the service, save when volunteering in the militia service, which he did as often as he had opportunity. From a very prosperous man his public services had reduced him to comparative poverty.

Colonel Brown was more persistent. Arming himself with the votes of Congress ordering the court of inquiry and confirming his rank as lieutenant-colonel, and being assigned to Colonel Elmore's Connecticut regiment, he returned to the army and forwarded his papers to General Gates, who had supplanted Schuyler in the command of the northern department, asking him to comply with the request for a court martial which was practically an order. But Arnold, having acquired even greater influence over the new and far less manly commander than he had with Schuyler, was able to ward off the investigation which he, with good reason, dreaded; and Gates, with the impudent assurance of his friend, referred the whole matter to the Board of War.

Hopeless of obtaining a vindication of his character by a court of inquiry into his own conduct Colonel Brown adopted a new line of procedure, and preferred to General Gates thirteen very serious charges for peaching Arnold as an officer and a gentleman. Upon these, he demanded that he should be arrested and tried by court martial. He also



transmitted the charges to Congress; but such was the reputation which Arnold's dash and gallantry, shrewdly turned to account by his meanly intriguing spirit, had won for him that nothing came of either presentment. Congress allowed its admiration for one bold and active officer to lead it into gross injustice toward another who had displayed still greater bravery and more valuable enterprise; for, while Brown had accomplished the great results which we have recorded, all Arnold's daring and activity had as yet been productive of nothing but trouble and vexation, excessive loss of life, disaster, and defeat.

Nothing was now left to Brown but to appeal to the people. This he did in a handbill dated at Pitsfield, April 12th, 1777, reciting the foregoing facts and closing with the following paragraph:

"I appeal to every person of common understanding, whether in a military character or not, that if Gen. Arnold did not know himself guilty of the charges laid against him, he would not have endeavored to bring himself to trial, to clear up his character, which, if he had been able to do so, he certainly might have called his impeachers to account for false and malicious charges and put the saddle upon the other horse; but, very far from this, he has used every possible art to avoid a trial, as if his character was not worth a sixpence."

In the winter of 1777 occurred an incident which is thus related in Colonel Stone's "Life of Brant":

"During the winter of 1776-7, while many of the officers were quartered at Albany, Arnold was at the head of a mess of sixteen or eighteen, among whom was Col. Morgan Lewis. Col. Brown having weak eyes and being obliged to live more abstemiously occupied quarters affording more retirement. \* \* \* \* Col. Brown published a handbill attacking Arnold with great severity, rehearsing the suspicious circumstances that had occurred at Sorel [Arnold's suspected plan of sailing the flotilla to the enemy] upbraiding him for sacking the city of Montreal while he was in the occupancy of that place. The handbill concluded with these remarkable words: 'Money is this man's God, and to get enough of it he would sacrifice his country.'"

Such a publication could not but produce a great sensation among the officers. It was received at Arnold's quarters while the mess were at dinner. Arnold, of course, was greatly excited, and applied a number of epithets, coarse and harsh, to Col. Brown, pronouncing him a scoundrel, and declaring that he would kick him whenever or wherever he should meet him. One of the officers present remarked that Col. Brown was his friend, and that, as the remarks just applied to him had been publicly made, he presumed there could be no objection to his repeating them to that officer. Arnold replied, "Certainly not," he should feel himself obliged to any officer who would inform Col. Brown of what he had said. The officer replied that he should do so before he slept. Under these circumstances no time was lost in making the communication to Col. Brown. Col. Lewis himself called upon Brown in the course of the evening, and the matter was the principal topic of conversation.

The colonel was a mild and amiable man, and he made no remark of particular harshness or bitterness in respect to Arnold; but, toward the





close of the interview he observed, "Well, Lewis, I wish you would invite me to dine at your mess to-morrow."

"'With all my heart,' was the reply. 'Will you come?'"

"Brown said he would as they parted."

"The next day, near the time of serving dinner, Col. Brown arrived, and was ushered in."

"The table was spread in a long room at one end of which the door opened directly opposite the fireplace at the other. Arnold was standing at the moment with his back to the fire, so that, as Brown opened the door, they at once encountered each other face to face. It was a moment of breathless interest as to the result. Brown walked calmly in, passed around the table with a deliberate step, and advancing close to Arnold, looked directly in his eye. After the pause of a moment he observed, 'I understand, sir, that you have said you would kick me. I now present myself to give you an opportunity to put your threat in execution.'

"Another brief pause ensued. Arnold opened not his lips. Brown then said, 'Sir, you are a dirty scoundrel.' Arnold was still silent as the Sphinx; whereupon Brown turned upon his heel with dignity, apologised to the gentlemen present for his intrusion, and left the room."

"This was certainly an extraordinary scene; and more extraordinary still is the fact that the particulars have never in any way been made public. Arnold certainly did not lack personal bravery; and the unbroken silence preserved by him on this occasion can only be accounted for on the supposition that he feared to provoke inquiry upon the subject, while at the same time he could throw himself upon his well attested courage, and his superior rank as not stooping to a controversy with a subordinate officer. But still it must be regarded as one of the most remarkable personal interviews to be found among the memorabilia of military men."

In May, 1777, Arnold forwarded to Congress a copy of Brown's Pittsfield appeal, which, together with his charges against Arnold, were referred to the Board of War. The Board took an extraordinary and shameful course. Without citing Brown to appear, but on the contrary keeping him in ignorance that the matter was pending, they convicted him of unjustly aspersing the character of Arnold, whom they acquitted upon his own unquestioned statement and that of a witness who could know nothing personally about it. Colonel Brown knew nothing of these proceedings until the following November; but he had resigned his commission in the Continental army on the 22d of the previous February, being determined that no power on earth should force him to serve with an officer who was impeached of treason and everything else unless he was brought to justice. He now forwarded to Congress a spirited remonstrance, in which he pointedly and forcibly exposed the absurdity and illegality of their conduct in the case, and the gross injustice which had been perpetrated against himself. The high continental authorities who with blind obstinacy trusted Arnold until his great treason was discov-





ered by no vigilance of theirs, had thus ample warning of what they might expect of him, if they would but have conformed to the most ordinary principles of justice and military law.

Having now freed himself from a service in which its most corrupt, treacherous, and dangerous officer wielded so potent and mysterious an influence, Colonel Brown returned to Pittsfield, was chosen colonel of the Northern Berkshire regiment, and in that capacity rendered memorable service to his country. Three years after he left the Continental service he lay slain upon the battlefield where he fell, fighting for the country which had treated him with such cruel injustice. Benedict Arnold, scorned and loathed of all men, a hated fugitive in the army of the enemy, was leading troops who blushed to follow him in make useless havoc in his native State. Not even the Honorable the Board of War or the great officers who had trusted and protected him could longer deny what they had refused to believe.



## CHAPTER IX.

### BERKSHIRE IN THE REVOLUTION (*continued*).

The Declaration of Independence and committee's rule.—Handling the Tories.—Berkshires in the Burgoyne invasion.—The battle and massacre of Snow Arabia.

THE question of renouncing allegiance to the king of Great Britain and declaring the colonies independent states having come to be openly agitated everywhere all the Berkshire towns, in which any record of action on the measure is preserved, early, emphatically, and boldly pronounced in favor of it, and there is no reason to doubt that all the others did the same.

On the 25th of March, more than three months before the Declaration was formally determined upon, and more than two months before the significant resolution of Congress "that the exercise of every kind of authority under the king ought to be suppressed," Pittsfield, with some of that Berkshire nonchalance which Schuyler so much deprecated in her soldiers, quietly "voted that the field officers proceed to regulate the North District or regiment with the erasure of George's name." Having thus signified that they were quite done with "His Gracious Majesty King George III.," and regarded him much as their puritan ancestors did "the man Charles," the people of the town went on to vote that "hogs should not run at large," and to transact the other business of the town as though they had done nothing extraordinary. By this time they had become so used to the commission of what their loyalist neighbors called high treason, that it did not disturb them at all. Two months later, in giving instructions to Valentine Rathbun, its representative in the General Court, Pittsfield said: "You shall, on no pretence whatever, favor a union with Great Britain, as to in any sense becoming dependent upon her hereafter, and we instruct you to use your influence with the Honorable House to notify the Honorable the Continental Congress that the whole province is waiting for the important moment which they in their great wisdom shall appoint for the Declaration of Independence and a free republic." There is a ringing tone and an assumption of authority in both this instruction and the previous vote.





which indicate that they were drawn up by Rev. Thomas Allen, the radical leader of the county. Valentine Rathbun, the Baptist elder, still more vehement, if possible, than Mr. Allen, needed no prompting, but only aid given by the instruction of the meeting to do precisely what he would have done without it.

The soldiers of Berkshire were soon called upon to make good what had been ordained by Congress in accordance with the wishes of its people. During the military operations in Westchester county, New York, after the retreat of Washington's army from Long Island, early in September, 1776, Colonel Simonds, of Williamstown, led a detachment of levies from the Berkshire regiments to reinforce it. And according to some fragments of a diary of Rev. Thomas Allen, who was its chaplain, it saw some pretty sharp skirmishing, and was deeply engaged in the battle of White Plains. Concerning this battle Mr. Allen writes: "Our men fought with great bravery. They generally, one with another, shot seven cartridges before they were ordered to retreat. They were sore galled by the enemy's field pieces." Colonel Fellows, of the 8th regiment, had at this time been promoted brigadier general, and served with great credit in that rank in this battle. His brigade major, Col. Mark Hopkins, of Great Barrington, died of disease two days before; a severe loss to the country, and especially to Berkshire patriots.

About the time that Colonel Simond's detachment returned home Washington earnestly asked 4,000 men from Massachusetts for the army which he was attempting to reorganize. But at the same time grave apprehensions arose that the invasion from Canada under Burgoyne, which actually occurred the next summer, would be made sooner. All agreed that a vigorous defense of Ticonderoga was of the utmost importance. Congress ordered heavy ordnance to be sent to the fort. Its defenses were strengthened. Schuyler pointed out clearly what was indispensably necessary. He was in great alarm, but believed that he could prevent the passage of the enemy, "unless they made themselves masters of Mount Independence, which would be impossible if he could procure men, cannon, and ammunition." He thought he ought to have at least 2,500 effective men at that important place lest the enemy should make an attempt upon it during the winter. One fourth part of the militia of Berkshire, and one eighth of the Hampshire troops were therefore ordered to report to General Schuyler at Albany, instead of to Washington, as was the original design.

Colonel Simonds, with the Berkshire detachment (part of a regiment) reached Ticonderoga about the 30th of December, and Schuyler was impatient to have the Hampshire men there also.

In anticipation of this call, and evidently sharing General Schuyler's anxiety, the General Court, as early as the 26th of October, believing that some of the militia in the western part of the State were not amply supplied with arms to meet it, directed the commander general to send into the county of Berkshire "200 firearms, 1,000 weight of gun-





powder, and 1,000 weight of leaden balls, to be placed in charge of Timothy Edwards, Jerathmiel Woodbridge, and Samuel Brown, Esquires, of Stockbridge, or either of them." The commissioners were instructed to dispose of these articles to militia men destitute of them at the following rates: the firearms at such price as they should deem them worth, the powder at five shillings a pound, and the bullets at fifty shillings per hundred weight.

In November Colonel Patterson's regiment, which, in the continental army, was numbered the fifteenth, left its fatal encampment at Mount Independence and rejoined Washington at Newtown, Penn., in season to take part in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. But such had been the sufferings of this gallant corps that, leaving Washington at New York, on the 21st of April, a well appointed regiment, 600 strong, it returned to him in November with barely 220 men, many of them greatly enfeebled. Of the heroic soldiers who were missed from their ranks a portion were invalided at home: but nearly as many, victims of disease, battle, and the tomahawk of the lurking savage, were in their graves: if graves were accorded them. The regiment was mustered out of service on the last day of the year 1776, its term of service having expired.

We have noticed the threats of the loyalists and the fears of the patriots regarding an invasion from Canada, by British troops and Indian savages, which should extend to the devastation of Berkshire. The fears at least had continued, and the danger also, although it was postponed by the inroad into Canada. Immediately upon the failure of that enterprise the danger again became imminent, to the great alarm, as we have seen, of the military authorities; and in the early spring of 1777 it was evident that the crisis, upon which hung not only the safety of Berkshire and the adjoining regions in the east and west but also the liberties of the nation, was close at hand, while the preparation to meet it, notwithstanding the earnest appeals of Schuyler, were in the most imperfect state.

On the 29th of April John Adams wrote from Philadelphia, evidently relying upon Schuyler's report,—"Every man in the Massachusetts quota ought to have been ready last December (1777) and not one man has yet arrived in the field, and not 300 at Saratoga. I have been abominably deceived about the troops. If Ticonderoga is not lost it will be because it is not attacked. And if it should be New England will bear all the shame and all the blame for it."

The detachment sent by Berkshire in December remained till March 16th, and was followed by another which served from April 23d to May 22d. Between that time and the evacuation of the fort by the Americans there appears to have been no Berkshire militia at Ticonderoga. But in the interval the county responded to a call which required about one-seventh of its enrollment to aid in replenishing the depleted ranks of the continental army.

Rev. Thomas Allen was at Ticonderoga from June 13th to the evacua-



ation, as post chaplain; and he has left a diary which reflects the sentiment of Berkshire concerning that event and those which preceded it.

Burgoyne's army debarked above the fort on the evening of July 1st, mustering, rank and file, 3,724 British soldiers, 3,000 Germans, and 250 provincials; beside which there were 473 picked engineers, with "the finest park of artillery which had ever been attached to any army."

All these forces were perfect in soldiery and appointments, and were commanded by carefully selected and exceptionally able officers, full of ambition and fully conscious that the whole heart of their sovereign was with this expedition, and that he would not beiggardly in rewarding every man who should conspicuously contribute to its success.

In addition to this splendid array of civilized warriors were the savage auxiliaries upon whom King George and his lieutenant both so implicitly relied for spreading terror through the unhappy region they were approaching, thus far rapidly and without opposition. These worthy allies of His Most Gracious Majesty preceded their civilized confreres, and in what manner they performed the part assigned them is shown by the two paragraphs from Mr. Allen's diary of June 26th; which also show that although there may have been no body of Berkshire militia at the post at that time, yet there were Berkshire men there, perhaps attached to corps from other sections. The paragraphs are as follows:

"June 26.—This day, as John Whiting and John Batty were returning from Lake George Landing, they were fired upon by a number of Indians; the former of whom was shot through the head, and then stabbed in his throat, breast, and belly, and, in addition to all, he was scalped. He was a likely lad of about eighteen years, and belonged to Lanesboro.

"The other, John Batty, had two balls pass through his thigh, one through the small of his back, and one obliquely through his breast, and his scalp was taken off, during all which he was quite sensible and was obliged to feign himself dead during the stripping him of his arms and taking off his scalp which caused him great pain. He was living the day before the retreat, and, it is said, was left behind."

When the British fleet first came in sight Rex, Mr. Allen had addressed the garrison in a speech, of which the following notes were found among his papers. We give them, as showing the style of the eloquence which so greatly stirred the hearts and influenced the conduct of the people of Berkshire, as well as an interesting and instructive part of the immediate events:—

"Valiant Soldiers,—Yonder are the enemies of your country, who have come to lay waste and destroy; to spread havoc and desolation through this pleasant land. They are mercenaries, hired to do the work of death, and have no motives to animate them in their undertaking. You have every consideration to induce you to play the men, and act the part of valiant soldiers. Your country looks up to you for its defense; you are contending for your wives, whether you see they shall enjoy them; you are contending for your children whether they shall be yours or theirs;







for your houses and lands, for your flocks and herds, for your freedom, for future generations, for everything that is grand and noble, and on account of which life is of any worth. You must, you will abide the day of trial. You cannot give back while animated by these considerations.

"Suffer me therefore, on this occasion, to recommend to you to break off your sins by righteousness, and your iniquities by turning to the Lord. Turn ye, turn ye, ungodly sinners; for why will ye die? Repent, lest the Lord smite you with a cane. Our camp is filled with blasphemy and resounds with the language of the infernal regions. Oh, that officers and soldiers might fear to take the holy and tremendous name of God in vain. Oh, that you would now return to the Lord, lest destruction come upon you, lest vengeance overtake you. Oh, that you were wise, that you would consider your latter end.

"I must recommend to you the strictest attention to your duty, and the most punctual obedience to your officers. Discipline, order, and regularity are the strength of an army.

"Valiant Soldiers,—Should our enemies attack us, I exhort and conjure you to play the men. Let no dangers appear too great, let no suffering appear too severe for you to encounter for your bleeding country. Of God's grace assisting me, I am determined to fight or die by your side rather than flee before our enemies, or resign myself up to them. Prefer death to captivity; ever remember your unhappy brethren made prisoners at Fort Washington, whose blood now cries to heaven for vengeance, and shakes the pillars of the world, saying, 'How long, oh Lord, holy and true, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell upon the earth?' Rather than quit this ground with infamy and disgrace I should prefer leaving this body of mine a corpse upon the spot.

"I must finally recommend to, and urge it upon you again and again, in time of action to keep silence. Let all be hushed and calm, serene and tranquil, that the word of command may be distinctly heard and resolutely obeyed. And may the God of Heaven take us under his protection, cover our hearts in time of battle, and grant unto us his salvation."

The fall of Ticonderoga, in the strength of which their confidence had become by long contemplation almost morbid, produced in the people of Berkshire a feeling of sorrow, indignation, and alarm akin to that which followed the retreat from Canada. The alarm, however, did not amount to consternation, but while it revived the courage of the loyalists inspired the patriots with a sterner determination and a more unqualified spirit of self-sacrifice. In the three months which intervened between the evacuation of Ticonderoga and the surrender of Burgoyne they did memorable service for the liberties of the country and the protection of their own homes; and especially in the last two, after the British army had begun to emerge from the swampy forests in subduing which they had wasted their strength and exhausted their provisions.

The excited people bitterly charged St. Clair and his "brigadiers" with cowardice, and the malignant enemies of Schuyler revived against him the thrice refuted allegation of treachery; but they had now slight hold upon the popular mind or that of the Revolutionary committee—even in radical Pittsfield. On the 9th William Williams in behalf of the



selectmen of that town, and Deacon Josiah Wright for the committee, wrote to General Schuyler a letter which, while severely condemning the evacuation, proffered him all the aid the town could possibly give. Schuyler, from the headquarters at Fort Edward, replied on the following day. He stated that he had heard, from Colonel Williams, of White Creek, that he was charged with ordering the evacuation, which he sympathetically denied, and averred that, on the contrary, it was made in direct opposition to his instructions. None of the officers had yet reported to him and he was still ignorant of their reasons for it. The enemy had appeared at Fort Ann, but none of them remained "except a few lurking Indians or white men disguised as such," of whom he was told they had many for the purpose of intimidation. He closed by saying that he hoped that, if properly supported by the militia, he should be able to stop the progress of the enemy at Fort Edward as soon as Generals St. Clair and Nixon should arrive with their troops. He would therefore thankfully accept all the aid they could give. He specified three things of which he was greatly in need: carriages, however few in number, he would be glad to get; men, and the more the better; and "lead with despatch, as he was straitened in that necessary article." Some carriages or carts were sent; of lead they had little, but they promptly transmitted the request, and indeed Schuyler's letter in full, to the General Court. Pittsfield sent men, as Great Barrington and other towns in the county did, whenever a detachment was called for as emergencies arose. Shortly afterwards a formal demand for all the carriages to be had in the counties of Berkshire and Hampshire was made on the authority of the General Court, and responded to.

The communication of Messrs. Williams and Wright to the General Court opened by saying that, "as the unparalleled, infamous, ignominious, and cowardly evacuating of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence and hasty retreat therefrom, must give astonishment to all humanity; so must it also give the utmost perplexity and remorse to the United Independent States of America and greatly reproach their general officers. To think that out of four there was not one of so much firmness and resolution as to confine the others there when all the field officers and men would have stood by him for the support and maintenance of the Key of North America, supplied with ammunition and provisions sufficient for thirty or forty days' siege, and within reach of 20,000 men who might, in all probability, have been with them in twenty days." They add, however, "It gives us no small pleasure to see no countenance changed unless it be with a spirit of resentment and indignation."

They thoughtfully suggested that if it was true that 300 cannon had been lost at Ticonderoga there could be few at headquarters, and it would be well for some of the brigades to take along with them "some of the field pieces paraded at Springfield." The following paragraph is important in connection with the after conduct of the militia and people of the county:





"You will pardon us if we unburden ourselves by letting you know what is heavy on our minds, as the keeping of officers of whom ever the common soldiery have a jealousy, especially such as have shown the greatest cowardice. They will never follow them with cordiality, fearing that they will leave them to themselves, or, to regain their credit, charge them with impetuosity to needless ruin and destruction. And we are apprehensive, that if those officers who made the late inglorious flight are not brought to trial, and then not justifying themselves, are not brought to condign punishment, officers will run at a very low ebb; and it will not be worth while to attempt any great things in the future. We shall be glad if our rebuke of resentment against the late northern conduct has not run us into indecency or impatience. But we trust that you will forgive us as it comes from hearty well wishers to the common cause of America."

It is curious to notice that the style of this composition, so pronounced in its devotion to the patriotic cause, unmistakably proclaims it the work of Col. William Williams, the whilom Tory and trusted friend of Governor Hutchinson, but who had now so well established himself in the confidence of probably the most vehement whigs in Massachusetts that they had made him chairman of their selectmen and the judge of their local temporary court of justice. Colonel Williams, as a military man of experience and sound judgment, would certainly in General St. Clair's place have done precisely as he did; but this is only a common instance of the erroneous judgment visited by critics at home upon officers under peculiarly trying circumstances in the field.

Nevertheless the paragraph quoted is significant. Together with the recent memory of the unhappy Canadian campaigns, and of the treatment in them of the two Berkshire officers most distinguished for brilliant and valuable service, by Schuyler and his successor, Gates, it affords a key to the fact that the militia of the county, even in a crisis so momentous to themselves as Burgoyne's invasion brought, did not serve under either with cheerfulness, confidence, or good will.

Still they did respond to Schuyler's calls promptly. In some cases they even anticipated any call. The moment news reached them that Burgoyne was advancing on Ticonderoga Captain John Strong and Lieut. Caleb Goodrich, on the 30th of June, led a company of fifty-four Pittsfield men to its relief. At Fort Ann they learned that the post was deserted; but if tradition is correct they took part in Colonel Long's sanguinary and almost successful fight. Militia from other Berkshire towns were almost certainly with this detachment, as well as in that which, on receipt, July 8th, of the news of the fall of Ticonderoga, started to reinforce the army at Fort Edward, Capt. William Francis and Lieut. Stephen Crofoot commanding the Pittsfield company of forty.

General Schuyler, on the 26th of July, dismissed one half of the militia of New England and of Albany county, New York, which, although his own home, was in accord with the New Englanders: "New Englanders," in this connection meaning almost exclusively Berkshire county men. In about a month he sent almost all the rest home. His pretense





for the first dismissal, while he proclaimed the severest need for men, was that the Berkshire and Albany militia were so impatient to return to their fields, that he permitted half of them to do so lest he might lose all. And then he sent home the other half. According to Bunkerhill, the reason he gave in private was that he considered every one of the Southern soldiers whom he was importuning Washington to send from his own already too meager force to be worth two of the men of New England. The truth was that, even yet he had not been able to get rid of the "nonchalances" of these free spoken Berkshire boys, who took little pains to conceal their distrust and contempt for him. Therefore, it was that he was imploring the commander-in-chief for his old plausible friend, Arnold, and Southern troops, when, had he been what the commander of the Northern Department ought to have been, he might have had from the first Brown and Easton, with the heroes of Bennington and others like them. With the memory of his course toward them still fresh he could not well ask help from Brown and Easton; perhaps he was still too much prejudiced against them to wish it. They, certainly, still smarting under wrongs, could not be expected to be in haste to again place themselves under his command, while there was any other in which they could serve their country; and that other soon offered itself.

In the meanwhile Burgoyne's triumph ended with the capture of Ticonderoga and success in a few encounters with the retreating garrison. Thenceforward followed blunders, trust in bad advice and false reports, marches through tangled thickets and mirey swamps with the poorest means of transportation, a loss of men ill supplied by royalist recruits, and an enormous consumption of supplies until he found himself, on the 30th of June, at Fort Edward with an exhausted army and surrounded by an ever increasing complication of difficulties. He had sent a cooperating column by way of Oswego and the Mohawk, and he now learned that it was before Fort Stanwix. The defeat which it there met was not within his purview of possibilities, but he considered it of the first importance to hasten down the Hudson to form a junction with this corps before his occupation of Albany, which, with his customary assurance, he had fixed for the 22d or 23d of August. But he had no means of transportation worthy the name, and all the subsistence he could get from any quarter was barely a daily supply.

His necessities were imperious, and he was prepared to listen to any suggestion which promised relief. He had promoted Major Skene, of Skenesboro, to be colonel, and made him titular governor of the regions thereabout, which were waiting to be conquered. He put the greatest trust in his information and advice; which was in this case that the Americans had accumulated great stores, including many horses, at Bennington, Vermont; and that they might easily be captured by surprise. The veteran Generals Phillips and Reidesel protested, but Burgoyne not only adopted the scheme but enlarged its scope.

The final written instructions to Lieutenant Colonel Baum, the Ger-



man officer to whom the command of the expedition was assigned, assigned its purposes to be—to scour the country with Peters' corps of loyalists and the Indians, from Nottingham to Otter Creek; to get cattle and horses and mount Reidesel's dragoons; to go down the river as far as Brattleborough, and return by the great road, which passed through the extreme northwestern corner of Berkshire county, to Albany, there to rejoin the army of Burgoyne; to endeavor to make the country believe that it was the advance guard of the general's army that was to cross the Connecticut and proceed to Boston by way of Springfield; to make prisoners of all civil as well as military officers holding under Congress; to tax the towns where they halted for whatever they needed, taking hostages for their performances; to bring all horses fit to mount the dragoons or for battalion service, with all the saddles and bridles that could be found. The number of horses, besides those for the dragoons, ought, it was the British general's modest opinion, to be 1,300; but if more were obtained, so much the better.

Verbal orders were given to at once send back the spoils of Beedington for the use of the army. The extension of the raid beyond that point was partly to divert the attention of Schuyler from the advance of the main body upon Albany, but chiefly to carry out that system of terror devised by Burgoyne, his royal master, and the most infamous of his ministers, as the expedient most likely to restore the rebellious people to their allegiance.

Nothing, surely, could be better adapted to inspire terror, if fear was not cast out by indignation, than a raid of mercenary troopers, instructed to live upon the country, ignorant of its language, and with practically unlimited power to make prisoners, supplemented by a scouting of Indians and exasperated tories. That Burgoyne should believe that a community capable of furnishing the number of horses mentioned would permit them to be quietly taken, and the remainder of this programme for a pleasant surprise party carried out by such a detachment as he sent out for that purpose, betrays that pitiable misconception of the people with whom he had to deal which was his ruin. But in fact he looked upon the whole region as virtually subdued and only needing to be made aware of it by a smart application of the rod. Thus far there was nothing in the opposition which he received to disabuse him of his illusion. There was even no harrassing of his flanks or attempts to cut off detached parties; but he was now rashly plunging into a region where quite another rule prevailed.

The province of New Hampshire had raised two brigades to proceed to the "new State," Vermont, and "check the advance of Burgoyne." Gen. John Stark was offered the command of one, and when in combined service, by virtue of seniority, of both. He accepted, on the indispensable condition that he should be responsible solely to the Legislature of New Hampshire, and in no way subject to the continental generals, the Continental Congress having, as he conceived, done him injustice. The





Legislature consented to this. That demand and that compliance fought and won the battle of Bennington. Stark had hardly reached Manchester when General Lincoln came to the same place with orders from Schuyler to bring all the militia in that section to the west side of the Hudson, where he was collecting an army to oppose Burgoyne. Believing, as Washington did, that the true policy was to hang heavily on the enemy's flank and rear and, if possible, cut off detached parties, Stark flatly refused to go, and on the 9th established his headquarters at Bennington.

Burgoyne, for the sake of closer communication with the expedition, moved his army down the Hudson to a point on the eastern side nearly opposite Saratoga; and, as a still further precaution, advanced Lieutenant-Colonel Breymen to Batten Kill, twenty-two miles northwest of Bennington, with two cannon of larger caliber than those with Baum, and a force consisting of German regulars, Brunswick grenadiers, light infantry, and chasseurs. Baum was already at this point, and leaving Breymen there he set out on his march early on the morning of the 13th, with a force of 400 dismounted Brunswick dragoons, a detachment of Hessian artillery with two field pieces, Captain Frazier's English marksmen, all the French Canadians, and a considerable body of the Queen's Royal Rangers (Peters' corps of Tories).

The German mercenaries were cumbered with most ponderous armor, and their marching was quite as cumbersome. The British officers attested that in forest roads where the mire was almost unfathomable their German confreres halted their men ten times an hour "to dress their ranks." The idea of a surprise by such a body as this was ludicrous.

The distance from the mouth of the Batten Kill to Bennington is a little more than thirty miles. Stark, learning on the afternoon of the 13th that a party of savages were committing their usual outrages at Cambridge, twelve miles from Bennington, sent out a party to check and chastise them. But during the following night word came to him that the Indians were only the advance of a large body of troops pushing directly for Bennington. He at once put the whole of his own force under arms, sent express to General Lincoln, who was at Manchester with the Vermont regiment which Col. Seth Warner had raised for the continental service (or rather what was left of it after the sanguinary battle of Hubbardstown) and sent swift and trustworthy messengers in all directions to summon the local militia.

At the time of the battle of Bennington the militia of Berkshire was divided into three regiments. The southern was commanded by Col. John Ashley, of Sheffield; the central by Col. John Brown, and the northern by Col. Benjamin Simonds, a veteran who had been one of the garrison taken with Fort Massachusetts when it was destroyed by the French and Indians in 1746, and who afterward became a prominent citizen of Williamstown, and a noted Berkshire patriot and soldier.

Stark's messenger reached Colonel Simonds early on the morning of





the 14th, and he immediately dispensed the call throughout the country. The response was general so far as the news reached. By the rolls in the State archives over 500 hundred men volunteered from the county. Some of them, however, seem not to have reached Bennington till after the battle was fought.

Ordinarily when calls were made upon the militia of the county a certain proportion was taken from each regiment and each company and combined in one detachment under whomsoever chanced to be the superior officer; but in the haste of this emergency the men seem to have gone on without regard to this. In truth all the militia in the county in 1777 seem to have been practically minute men, ready to march at the briefest possible notice when there was necessity for haste. At any rate, although there was a pouring rain when the summons to Bennington field came, and the roads were as bad as they well could be, there was no hesitation or delay. The patriotic soldiery got on as they best could and as rapidly. There was no dressing of ranks on that march. Parson Allen went to war like the heroes of scripture story—in his chariot—the old glg. in which he made his parochial visits.

Of the several Berkshire regiments the number of men who reached Bennington in season for the fight was naturally in proportion to their distance from it. Col. Simonds' was the most fully represented, and he commanded the whole. "In Williamstown," said Rev. Mr. Noble, in his centennial address, "every man except a cripple on crutches shouldered his gun and walked to the field of conflict." Col. Brown was absent from home, and Lieut. Col. Rossiter of his regiment was second in command to Col. Simonds. Col. Ashley did not reach Bennington. He had been ill a short time before, and probably had not recovered. The Berkshire detachment came along from time to time during the night, company by company, squad by squad, and sometimes man by man. Having trudged according to the location of their homes from fifteen to fifty miles, they reported to Gen. Stark in the early morning of the now famous day, thoroughly drenched and clogged with mire, but with their powder dry, and full of heart for immediate action.

The frequent tedious marches which they had made, to the interruption of their farm labors, and only to be sent home again without any opportunity to meet the enemy, had left them in no very good humor, and much disposed to regard the present alarm as the old cry of "Wolf." Only the sterling reputation of Stark as a fighting commander brought about the general rally which was made to his standard; and even this did not entirely dissipate the distrust which had become chronic in the Berkshire mind. This affords the explanation of a story, told by Edward Everett in his "Life of Stark," which would otherwise make Rev. Mr. Allen appear like a sadly unreasonable person.

"Among the reinforcements from Berkshire county came a clergyman [Rev. Thomas Allen] with a portion of his flock, resolved to make him the aim of death against the enemies of his country. Before daylight on the morning of the 16th he



addressed the commander as follows: 'We, the people of Berkshire, have been frequently called upon to fight, but have never been led against the enemy. We have now resolved, if you will not let us fight, never to turn out again.' Gen. Stark asked him 'if he wished to march then when it was dark and rainy.' 'No,' was the answer, 'not just this minute.' 'Then,' continued Stark, 'if the Lord should once more give us sunshine and I do not give you fighting enough, I will never ask you to come again.''

The morning of the 16th of August dawned bright and clear, and Stark prepared to make good his promise of action. A close reconnaissance, together with the report of scouts, showed that the enemy were carefully, if not at all points skilfully, posted and intrenched. The artillery occupied a hill of very moderate height, which rose just west of the New York State line from the Wellmaniac, a little stream fordable at all points, which had little or no influence on the battle, except to afford drink to the soldiers. The Tories and French Canadians were placed behind the first line of breastworks, between the Americans and the river. On this, the southeastern side, the hill is quite abrupt, but it falls off more gently to the north and west. Stark promptly availed himself of these conditions, and sent Colonel Nichols with 200 men and Colonel Herrick with 300 to simultaneously assail the rear of the dragoons and sharpshooters. The maneuver, which shows that Stark was a skilful strategist as well as a man of heroic daring, was successfully executed, notwithstanding the outlying of the Indian scouts, who, finding themselves between two fires, and terrified by an aspect of affairs so different from what they had been led to expect, broke through the lines and fled, leaving a considerable number of dead and wounded. Baum, sharing the dear delusion which his Tory counsellors and flatterers had so successfully cherished in Burgoyne, really believed that the militia men stealing behind him in their shirt sleeves, and for the most part armed with fowling pieces, were loyalists of the country seeking the protection of his lines. He was not undeceived till they opened fire. Small detachments making feint at other points helped maintain the deceit.

In the meantime the Berkshire militia men advanced with the main body, which, led by Stark in person, was slowly approaching the Tory breastworks by marches and countermarches, and sometimes circling around a hillock. The object of these singular maneuvers puzzled the enemy, who probably attributed them to a reluctance to advance upon them. In truth Stark was impatiently waiting to hear the rattle of musketry on the other side of the works, which was to be the signal for his own attack.

In the morning the Berkshire men would not leave their camp until Rev. Mr. Allen had prayed to the God of Armies, that he would "bind their hands to war and their fingers to fight." The prayer was offered with that fervor of spirit for which the patriot parson was noted, and it inspired the men like the harangue of a trusted commander—and perhaps more so, for it caused the men to believe that the Lord of Hosts





was their leader. There are many who to this day attribute the glorious success which followed to the efficacy of that prayer. That certainly would be to rob Stark of his due honor if it means that a miracle was effected by Mr. Allen. But who that even in these days of less faith still trusts in the effectual fervent prayer of the righteous man will rebuke the Berkshire soldiers of Bennington for superstition in their confidence that they fought under divine guidance and with divine support—and fought the more manfully for it.

As the Berkshire regiment approached the tory outposts, Mr. Allen, who knew that some of his old neighbors, members of his spiritual flock, must be there, was moved by a sense of duty which he could not resist, although conscious of the extreme danger, to go still nearer and, standing in open view upon a fallen tree, to conjure them to move out from the enemies of their country and save the effusion of blood; at the same time warning them of the consequence of persisting in their hostility.

There were probably from 75 to 100 Berkshire Tories in the works, and prominent among them was John Graves, a member of an aristocratic provincial family and a distant relative of Admiral Graves of the British navy. He was still smarting under the parson's plain talk, and still more physically from the "handling" which he had suffered at the hands of the committee, instigated, as he believed, by that talk. He now shouted, "There's Parson Allen. Let's pop him." A shower of bullets followed, riddling the tree on which he stood but sparing his person. He probably owed his safety to the nervous marksmanship of the musketeers, but his comrades in the ranks found in it new assurance of divine protection. The intrepid parson, feeling that the blood of the traitors would now be upon their own heads, turned coolly to his brother, Lieut. Joseph Allen, who had followed him under cover of the tree, and said, "Now give me my musket; you load and I'll fire." And fire he did,—the first gun in that glorious fray.

This was, it must be confessed, in violation of orders. But Stark, almost at the same moment, heard the welcome sound of Nichol's attacking musketry, and gave the word for the assault. It was made with such impetuosity and such a continuous deadly fire that the first line of intrenchments was soon too hot for its tory defenders, who had certainly been given the post of honor if danger could make it so. Panic-stricken, and expecting little mercy at the hands of their exasperated countrymen, the unhappy soldiery who loved George III. better than their country desperately attempted to reach the works above by scaling the steep face of the hill, which had been rendered extremely slippery by the deluging rain which prevailed when the surface earth was being removed for the construction of the intrenchments. Hardly able to maintain a precarious foothold at the best, but now constantly exposed to the relentless and unerring aim of the forest-trained militia, the wretched fugitives were indeed in pitiable plight. Linus Parker, afterward the famous Pittsfield





hunter and marksman but then a volunteer from Lenox, described the scene as horribly ludicrous when a glimpse was caught, through the veil of smoke, of the dark figures scrambling desperately up the steep and smooth acclivity, and one after another, killed or wounded, tumbling helplessly to its base. "I could not," he said, "have kept from shaking with laughter if I had known I was to be shot dead the next minute." At this stage of the conflict there was not much merriment in the hearts of the defenders of their homes, of Stark's men, who rushed fearlessly up the steep ascent—now by their own blood and that of the *redskins* rendered more slippery than the rain had left it—to within a few paces of the cannon's mouth, the more surely to pick off the cannoniers. Attacked in front and rear, his cannon taken, his ammunition nearly expended, Baum gave the order for his dragoons and infantry to cut their way with sabre and bayonet through the militia who were nearly destitute of both. The charge was bravely made and bravely met. Baum fell mortally wounded, and those of his men who survived were made prisoners.

Victory now seemed assured, and Stark's troops were scattered in various directions: some attending the wounded; some seeking and caring for the dead; some betraying instincts of irregular troops by plundering the British camp. At this moment of dispersion and demoralization the alarm was given that Burgoyne was near at hand with the reinforcing corps which has been described, nearly or quite equal to Baum's command. It was impossible to collect at once a large portion of the scattered forces, and there was the utmost danger that the fortunes of the day would be reversed. Lieutenant-Colonel Rossiter greatly distinguished himself by his coolness, energy, and courage in attempting to prevent this by collecting and reorganizing the men; but it would have been in vain had it not been for one of those circumstances so frequent in the Burgoyne invasion that they may truthfully be said to have determined its issue, where a higher power than man's converted seeming difficulty and disaster into the means for final and more signal triumph. Colonel Warner was with General Stark when the news of Burgoyne's approach reached him, and acted as his aid and counsellor from that time. His regiment, reduced to less than 150 men by the slaughter of Haldonstons, was at Manchester under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Safford, and it responded with alacrity to the call of Stark and its commander, and by a forced march through the rain and mud reached Bennington during the forenoon of the 16th; but they were obliged to wait for rest and to put their firelocks in order, so that they could not take part in the first encounter, but came on to the field fresh and eager to emulate the exploits of their brethren in the forenoon, just in time to turn the scale in which victory seemed to be inclining toward the enemy. Breyman began a retreat which soon became a flight, abandoning his artillery, a large number of small arms, and many of his wounded. Darkness preserved the broken remnant, that was met by Burgoyne who was



advancing to their relief with the 42d British regiment, with what feelings can well be imagined.

The victory was complete. In both engagements Stark lost only about thirty killed and forty wounded, while the loss of the enemy, wounded and prisoners, was more than 1,000. The prisoners alone were at least 690, of whom 400 were Germans and 175 were Tories. The fruits of the victory in materials of war were four cannon, 900 dragoon swords, 1,000 stand of excellent arms, and four ammunition wagons, besides what the militia men secured personally.

Most of the prisoners were sent to Boston under charge of General Fellows; but a portion were left in charge of the committees of Berkshire and Hampshire, by whom they were permitted to hire out to work on such terms as the committee deemed equitable. A considerable number of them did so to the great relief of the scarcity of labor produced by the war. Some of them, as well as others taken with Burgoyne, became permanent and valuable settlers.

No battle in the Revolution took a more powerful and permanent hold upon the hearts of the people than that of Bennington. The dark background which it relieved contributed much to this effect. Its result shed light and hope where before there was almost unbroken gloom and dismay. At the moment when it took place the Tories were rapidly increasing in numbers from the ranks of those whose position was determined by the prospects of success; and we find in letters of that period that in Albany and Berkshire counties even some pronounced Whigs, in their alarm, were seeking the intercession of their leading opponents with Burgoyne, in case his legions should reach them. Stark's victory changed all that, and gave the people courage and vigor to meet him victoriously. The romantic scenery of the region in which the battle was fought, and the character of the soldiery by whom it was won, also contributed much to its effect on the imagination. In the sober view of history its importance can hardly be overestimated, but its name is also surrounded by a poetic radiance which gives its memory a peculiar luster.

The conflict is called "The Battle of the Militia," and so, as regards the organization of the troops which won it, it was. But not in regard to their training. Almost every man who answered to Stark's call had for years been trained as a soldier, and had lived in daily expectation of being called to the field, and had received the hardening of a response to several alarms. Many of them had been under fire, not a few were veterans, and some who volunteered as privates were even veteran officers. It was a battle of militia, but not all of raw militia.

Shortly after the battle of Bennington a service was performed by Colonel Brown, which from its striking similitude to his early exploits, as well as from other circumstances, we are led to believe originated with himself. We are not informed where he was at the time of the battle. He was certainly not at home, nor at Manchester with Lincoln, as he had





recently been: otherwise he would have been in the fight and in command of the Berkshire militia. It is altogether probable that he was making a reconnoissance as far as the neighborhood of Ticonderoga. According to a statement of the selectmen of Pittsfield, made to the General Court in December, 1779, for the purpose of obtaining a rectification of their quota of men, it is stated that Captain John Strong went to Skenesboro, September 6th, with thirty-one men, "each with a horse and a bag of meal." No rank is mentioned for either of the thirty-one, but among them were John Brown, who was the colonel of the regiment, and James Easton, the former colonel. The company was part of a detail from the three Berkshire regiments which reported to General Lincoln at Powlet as soon as they could reach him after the 6th.

On the 13th General Lincoln sent out three detachments for the purpose of capturing some posts in the rear of Burgoyne, and cutting off his communication with Canada. One of these, under command of Colonel Johnson, of Hampshire county, consisted of several hundred Berkshire militia, including the Berkshire detail, and was sent to threaten Ticonderoga from the Vermont side and, if opportunity offered, to attack Fort Independence. It marched as far as Skenesboro, now Whitehall, but made no captures. A second was composed of the Vermont rangers under Colonel Herrick. What its object or success was we do not know. The third corps, consisting of 500 picked men, was placed under the command of Colonel Brown, with orders to proceed to Fort George, destroy the British stores collected there, and release the American prisoners for whom it had been made a depot and, if circumstances favored, to unite with Johnson in an attack on Ticonderoga.

With so much discretion and spirit was Brown's expedition conducted that, leaving Powlet on the morning of the 13th, by the morning of the 18th he had not only accomplished all the objects designated in the general's orders—except the last and contingent one—but, passing up Lake George, he had surprised all the outworks between its northern landing place and the main fort of Ticonderoga, including Mount Hope, Mount Defiance, an isolated blockhouse, and the old French lines. Besides these an armed brig, several gunboats, and 200 batteaux had fallen into his hands. He had made 293 prisoners, embracing four companies of regular infantry and nearly as many Canadians, besides the officers and crews of the flotilla. Five cannon, and small arms in proportion to the number of prisoners, were among his spoils. And, to crown the gratifying character of the achievement, 100 American soldiers were released from captivity, and the continental standard which had been left behind in the unseemly haste of the late evacuation was recovered.

Having accomplished this Colonel Brown summoned the commander of Ticonderoga to surrender, but having not sufficient siege artillery or men to enforce compliance, after making demonstrations against the place for a few days, he burned the captured vessels, and returned





safely with his other captures to headquarters, having lost in killed and wounded only nine men.

The importance of Brown's success in this expedition, in connection with the battle of Bennington, is well illustrated from the following paragraph from a *Life of Burgoyne*, published at London, in 1876, under the auspices of his family, as a vindication of his personal and military character :

"The Americans were greatly elated by this success [the Bennington victory]. To Burgoyne the loss of 700 men was a serious blow, and the more so since the failure upon Bennington necessitated his awaiting supplies from the north and prevented his meeting the enemy before they could collect in force."

The destruction by Brown of the means of water communication from the north (an achievement it will be remembered which was not included in his instructions) cut off any further supplies from Canada, and contributed much to that scarcity of provisions which a month later compelled his surrender.

Three days after the battle of Bennington General Schuyler was again succeeded in command by Gates—a man with few of his noble qualities, and with many of his weaknesses, besides others which Schuyler had not. Still the new commander had a pseudo reputation as a fighting general which rendered him popular with the militia and with those who did not like the Fabian policy of Washington. The militia of Berkshire flocked eagerly to his standard. Although Brown and Easton knew him too well to trust him, they did not consider it politic to check the popular enthusiasm which was, in that emergency all important to enhance.

In the meantime, and before Brown's expedition, Burgoyne, by the most arduous exertions, had succeeded in transporting 181 boats from Lakes Champlain and George, and accumulated a supply of provisions for one month, which made everything to that extent ready for the long delayed advance to Albany. But now the occupation of Stillwater by the Americans had rendered that movement impossible unless they were first dislodged. To accomplish this he could muster at the best no more than 6,000 men, and in order to swell his numbers as much as possible he resolved to call in the garrisons stationed at Skenesboro, Fort Mifflin, and Fort Edward, thus relinquishing communication with Canada. It has been said that the necessity for such a measure had been foreseen by Generals Gates and Lincoln, who had organized the Powlet expeditions to prevent it. But it is not clear how an expedition against Ticonderoga and Fort George, which he did not abandon, could have prevented Burgoyne from withdrawing his garrisons from the posts below; and if the garrisons in those posts had orders to rejoin the main body it is difficult to see how Colonels Johnson and Herrick could have prevented it unless they took them by surprise. At any rate, when Johnson reached Skenesboro the garrison had already left.

Burgoyne, on the 14th of September, crossed the Hudson on a bridge



of boats. The Americans were strongly intrenched at Stillwater, and Burgoyne soon had strong works at Saratoga. The series of battles, which ended in the capitulation of Burgoyne's entire army on the 17th of October, commenced on the 19th of September. The Berkshire militia were engaged in great numbers, but detail seems to have relieved detail so that generally the whole body was not present at the same time, and we have few particulars of its service. A map of the Rebel, printed in the *Life of Burgoyne* before quoted, represents General Pellissier holding the east bank of the Hudson, with 3000 men, from October 10th until the capitulation.

Burgoyne, from the time he took position at Saratoga, made almost frantic efforts to communicate with General Clinton on the lower Hudson, but of his many messengers only three or four reached their destination, and only one returned. What the Berkshire militia were doing between their homes and the Hudson, and how vigilant they were, is shown in part of the story told by one of these messengers of his many difficulties and dangers :

"The 27th of September, in the evening, I left Gen. Burgoyne's camp with despatches for Sir Henry Clinton; passed to the east bank of the Hudson, but could get no further into the woods than a mile and a half, owing to the darkness of the night and a swamp we got into. Set out, the 28th, in the morning, keeping the woods until we got to the banks of the Husack creek, which we found was guarded at all the fords by the enemy to prevent the friends of government from getting into Gen. Burgoyne's camp, which obliged us to remain quiet all-day. Passed several of their guards that night and, by the assistance of a thick fog, passed the creek early in the morning of the 29th, and got four miles beyond Pittstown [Pittsfield] at which place my guide from Gen. Burgoyne's camp left me to a German, where I stayed all night."

After several times narrowly escaping either a bullet or a halter, the messenger, Capt. Thomas Scott, of the 53d regiment, reached Clinton; but he had learned too much of the dangers of the route to attempt to return.

The number of officers and men who laid down their arms at Burgoyne's capitulation was 5,791. Of the original army 1,356, who had before been made prisoners, were not included in the articles of capitulation. The whole body, except some Germans who, not being guarded with especial care, slipped away and remained as good American citizens, were sent to Boston in two divisions. One of these, of 2,500 men, passed through Williamstown, Lanesboro, Pittsfield, Dalton, and Peru. In Pittsfield they encamped or bivouacked on East and South streets, where of course they attracted great crowds of spectators. We have no particular information how the division that went by this route were greeted by the country people; but the road by which they marched through Dalton and Peru, not now that the most traveled, is still known as the "Burgoyne road," at least to the older inhabitants, and points on it are considered of great local interest. It is not probable that gold coin was over abundant with the officers, but it looked like a mint in the eyes





of the people to whom they paid some of it for country luxuries. A traditional belief existed until quite recently that they looted boards of it along the roadside, and men came from long distances to dig for them as for Captain Kidd's hidden treasures. What reason men in their position could have for hiding the best friend they could have in a region to which they never expected to return, seems never to have occurred to them to ask.

A second and somewhat larger division passed through Great Barrington, which place it reached on the 25th of October. It was accompanied by General Burgoyne and the Baron Reidesel, who, being ill, rode in a carriage with his wife and children. Teams for the conveyance of the sick and the provisions were to have been changed here, but as no orders had been given in advance, a considerable delay was necessary. Taylor says, "A portion of the prisoners had its camp in the hollow of the hillside, westerly from the late residence of Mrs. Mark Bussiter, in the northerly part of the village," and that "a larger portion was encamped in the south part of the village on the level ground lying west of the main street, and north of the road leading from the burial ground toward Green River. The officers, among whom was the Hessian general, Baron Reidesel, had their quarters in the old Episcopal church, and General Burgoyne, who was ill disposed and depressed in spirits, remained for several days at the house of Col. Elijah Dwight, in the Henderson house. During their stay the prisoners were more kindly treated than would reasonably be expected at the hands of an exhausted people. Many of them were sick and suffering from camp fever, and it is related that Capt. Truman Wheeler collected roots, boiled them and personally distributed the decoction among the invalids, with good effect, and that one of the British officers presented him with a substantial token of appreciation of the kindness shown the prisoners." Colonel Stone, writing on the authority of Reidesel, says that at Great Barrington "they for the first time on their march obtained shelter in barns." From the context and from the probabilities of the case "they" seems to refer to the captive soldiers, but it may mean, or include in its meaning, General Reidesel and his family, who might desire quarters separate from those of the body of the officers.

When teams were finally obtained the march was continued by the great road to Westfield, the first day's march being fifteen miles over roads growing continually worse, and the prisoners encamped at night "near Spring's house in terrible weather." Spring's house was probably in Otis or Tyringham. The weather being very cold and snowy they did not reach West Springfield till the 28th. Two German soldiers were frozen to death on the last day's march.

The defeat of Burgoyne was hailed with exuberant delight throughout Berkshire. The threatening cloud of invasion, which had overshadowed its northwestern border since 1774, was dispelled for that war and, although





its militia were called out in occasional alarms, they suffered only in one more battle; but that was the saddest and most sanguinary of all.

In the fall of 1779 General Sullivan, by order of Washington, inflicted a terrible chastisement upon those tribes of the Six Nations which had entered into an alliance with Great Britain, and in connection with the Tories committed fearful atrocities the preceding year, at Wyoming and elsewhere.

During the ensuing winter this visitation was bitterly retaliated upon the friendly Oneidas, and in the summer of 1780 the Indians, under the chiefs, Brant and Corn Planter, combined with Sir John Johnson and other Tories who had been driven from their homes in the Mohawk valley to pursue their vengeance in that lovely region. The valley was a luxurious farming country in which a harvest of unusual abundance was ripening, upon which Washington's commissariat was known to place much reliance. Thus both policy and passion devoted the pleasant valley to ruin.

In early summer, it becoming apparent that the homes on the Mohawk, unless speedy measures were taken for their protection, would be visited by horrors like those of Wyoming, troops were collected there; and, among others, a regiment of levies from the three in Berkshire, locally known as "the new levies." It is of tradition that the command was first assigned to the senior colonel, John Ashley, of Sheffield, who proceeded to Albany where he was seized by an illness which afterward proved fatal. Col. Brown was in the city at the time, and consented to take his place; his senior and friend assuring him that, especially after his late successes at Lakes George and Champlain, the Berkshire men would follow him more readily than any other officer. It is added that Col. Brown, being without his pistols, borrowed those of Col. Ashley, which, when he was killed, became the booty of some plundering savage. Ashley dying soon afterward the receipt for the pistols was found by his executors who collected pay for them from the estate of the man who was killed as his substitute. There is something, to say the least of the inaccuracy of tradition, in all this. The change of commanders was doubtless made in the ordinary manner: the officer next in rank succeeding when his superior is invalided. The date of the appointment of the field and staff officers of the new levies was as follows: Col. John Brown, July 14th; Major Oliver Root, July 8th; Adjutant James Easton, July 17th; Quartermaster Elias Willard, July 17th; Surgeon Oliver Brewster, July 23d. All were of Pittsfield except Surgeon Brewster, who was of Partridgefield. He was the ancestor of two prominent physicians of Pittsfield, one of whom, Dr. Oliver E. Brewster, was surgeon of the 4th Massachusetts regiment in the late civil war. Adjutant Easton was a son of the colonel of the same name, and had done good service at Bennington. The appointment of the major before the colonel and the officers appointed by him, and the taking of all the officers from the central regiment, and all but one from the same town, is explained thus when Root



was designated major the colonel was Ashley of Sheffield. Col. Brown probably welcomed the command the more readily because, Caughnawaga (now Rome, N. Y.), the place where he commenced the practice of law, was in the district which he was called to defend.

The regiment marched about the 20th of July, but we learn nothing of its movements until, on the 18th of October, we find it posted at Fort Paris, a small block house about three miles north of the Mohawk River, and in that part of the district of Stone Arabia which now forms the town of Palatine. Four days previous Sir John Johnson's hordes had set out on a grand mission of destruction through the fine valley of the Schoharie and the Mohawk; and, wherever they had passed the devastation was complete. The destroyers left unburned not one house, barn, or stack of wheat which was known to belong to a whig; and hundreds of the patriotic inhabitants—men, women, and children—were pitilessly murdered while flying or begging mercy.

On the 18th Gen. Robert Van Rensselaer, an exceedingly sluggish commander, coming tardily, with a considerable body of New York militia, to the relief of the distressed region, reached Caughnawaga, which flourishing village he found still in flames, so recently had the enemy left it. Learning here that Fort Paris, which was about twelve miles distant, was to be attacked the next day, he sent orders for Colonel Brown to march out in the morning and form a junction with his own force, in order to anticipate the enemy's plans by a joint attack.

Many of the officers seem to have considered the movement as involving more hazard than could reasonably be taken; some even counselled disobedience of orders. The men shared this feeling of distrust. One of them—Giles Parker, of Adams, whose courage had not failed under the severest tests—came to the colonel in the morning and warned him to forego his march, relating at the same time an ominous dream of the preceding night, which had depressed his spirits. "What?" exclaimed his commander, "Are you too afraid to go? Then stay behind!" The soldier indignantly protested that "he had fought by his side many a time, and that it was not for himself that he feared but for his colonel." Finding him seriously impressed with the belief that evil would attend the march, Colonel Brown seriously advised him to remain in the fort; but the noble fellow claimed his right to share the perils of his comrades, and was one of the first to fall under the murderous fire of the savages.

The one thing which Colonel Brown feared was that a battle in which he had a right to take part would be fought without him. Early in the morning of the 19th of October—his thirty-fifth birthday—he therefore sallied out from Fort Paris with about 300 men, to form a junction with Van Rensselaer, in obedience to orders. He had marched some two miles, when, at a little distance on his right a man was seen mounting a horse which stood before a respectable looking farm house and was surrounded by a family group. The horseman rode directly up to Major Root, who was in advance, and inquired if he commanded the party. Colonel Brown





was pointed out to him, marching in the rear. Approaching him the stranger stated that he was directed by General Van Rensselaer to inform him that by proceeding down a road which turned to the left, instead of the one he was pursuing, he would better effect the proposed junction.

The new route seemed a convenient detour around the region where the smoke of burning buildings now began to indicate the presence of the enemy, and, the well arranged family scene helping to ward off suspicion, unfortunate credence was given to the stranger without further guarantees and without detaining him as a hostage for his good faith.

The route was changed and led into a long and narrow clearing, which extended to the river, near a ruined work called Fort Keyser, and was surrounded by dense woods. The regiment had advanced well into this treacherous *cul de sac*—the colonel and major being both now at the head of the column—when a sergeant, near them exclaimed, "See that damned Indian!" and immediately discharged his musket. At once the woods resounded with savage yells, and a thousand muskets, gleaming from behind sheltering trees, poured in a rapid and murderous fire upon the entrapped and bewildered troops. Colonel Brown, who was made conspicuous by his fine person and his official sash, was shot through the heart by the first discharge, and fell upon his face without a word or a struggle.

An attempt to restore order among the panic stricken soldiery would have been worse than useless; officers and men fled precipitately toward the fort. There was no lack of vigor in the pursuit, but the irresistible impulse to tomahawk and scalp the wounded delayed the savages and enabled a large portion of the fugitives to escape. Major Root saw one man crawl into the woods and hide himself, while his over eager pursuers rushed on without heeding him; but he thought that almost every one of the seriously wounded was killed and scalped. He reports the number of killed as forty.

The fort was filled with women and children who had fled from the surrounding country, and their shrieks and wailings added to the confusion as the flying soldiers crowded in disorder through its gates. Fortunately Major Root had been trained in a school which rendered him familiar with such scenes as well as with the character of the enemy with which he had to deal; having in his youth been one of Major Roger's famous corps of forest rangers, in which John Stark and Israel Putnam were officers. He knew well that the fort could not resist a vigorous assault from the foes who, eager to attack it, now thronged the edge of the clearing; but he also knew the terror with which "big guns" inspired the warriors of the woods, and was convinced by the timidity with which they exposed themselves that they believed him destitute of artillery. But, by rare good fortune, the wretched little fortress was supplied with one poor little dwarf of a four pounder; although the ammunition for it was limited to a single ball and three charges of powder.

With these Major Root determined to make a demonstration, hardly





daring, however, to hope that it would be effectual. Wheeling his gun to the gateway he sent the lonely missile howling among the astonished groups, or at least at them. A charge of horse chains next went slinging through the air to their still greater consternation. But in the meanwhile, by order of the major, they had been broken into small fragments and the gun charged with them. These mysterious projectiles came screaming and shrieking among the besiegers who could not divine their nature. Their dismay was complete, and they plunged speedily into the shelter of the woods. Even the *brig* officer who commanded them did not recognize the true character of the missiles, or if he did, was not shrewd enough to detect the scarcity of ammunition which their strangeness indicated; for he gave over the attack, remarking that he "had a mind to take that fort by storm; but it would cost too many lives." Had he suspected the defenseless state of the place and actually made the assault it would have cost but few lives, except of those within, of whom few would have been spared.

The New York militia rallied to the support of Van Rensselaer in such numbers that the Berkshire regiment was able to return home on the 21st, leaving the remains of their gallant commander in the grave yard at Stone Arabia.



## CHAPTER X.

### REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS.

THE following are lists of those who served from each town in Berkshire county in the Revolutionary war, so far as can be ascertained from the rolls and other papers at the State House. In several instances the same name appears in different towns: sometimes because there were several persons of like name, and sometimes because men enlisted for other towns than that in which they resided, or joined companies belonging (almost entirely) to another town.

#### REVOLUTIONARY OFFICERS.

Brigadier generals—John Fellows, Sheffield, John Patterson, Lenox.

Colonels—John Ashley, Sheffield, Asa Barnes, Samuel Brewer, John Brown, Pittsfield, James Easton, Pittsfield, Mark Hopkins, Great Barrington, Caleb Hyde, Lenox, Miles Powell, David Rosseter, Richmond, Benjamin Simonds, Williamstown.

Lieutenant colonels—Thomas Brown, Sandisfield, John Collar, New Marlborough, Seth Read, Aaron Root, Azariah Root, David Rowley, Theodore Sedgewick,\* Jonathan Smith.

Majors—Jacob Brown, Sandisfield, Jeremiah Cady, Ezra Fellows, Giles Jackson, Tyringham, Thomas Lusk, Oliver Root, Aaron Rowley, Richmond, Erasmus Sargent, Isaac Stratton, Benjamin Tupper, Jedediah Ward.

Brigadier major—William Goodrich, Suffield.

Adjutants—Ebenezer Bement, Great Barrington, Joshua Blinn, Benedict Dewey, James Easton, jr., Pittsfield, Daniel Hossford, Samuel St. John, Stockbridge, Joseph Skinner, Thompson J. Skinner, Williamstown, David Tracy, New Marlborough, Enoch Woodbridge, Stockbridge, William Walker, Lenox.

Quartermasters—Gerard or Jared Fitch, Stockbridge, Ezra Hancock, Seth Hunt, Cornelius Lynde, Caleb Stanley, Elias Willard.

Surgeons—Samuel Adams, Oliver Brewster, Peru, Timothy Childs, Pittsfield, John Johnson, Thaddeus Thompson, William Whiting, Elihu Wright, New Marlborough.

Chaplain—David Avery, Windsor.

#### ADAMS.

Elisha Alderman, Noah Aldrich, Amasa Andrus.

Edward Bailey, Reuben Baker, William Baker, Giles Barnes, Josiah Barnes, John

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\* Commissioned, probably did not accept.





Bart or Bours, William Bates, James Benedict, William Bennett, Joshua Bentley, Ford Boss, Benjamin Bowman, Benjamin Bragg, Gideon Braley.

Rufus Carpenter, Jeremiah Collins, Asaph Cook, Joseph Cook.

Nathan Davis, Benjamin Dibble, Duncan Dunn.

Ebenezer Fisk 2d, Jeremiah Foster jr.

Solomon Gardner, Nehemiah Grover, Daniel Green, William Green, James Green, Timothy Grover, Abraham Harrington, Rufus Harrington, William Harrington, David Holbrook, Benjamin Hayard (mulatto), James Holden.

Jesse Jewett.

Mansur Kittle.

Samuel Landfair, Charles Lincoln, Henry Lock, Hooker Low, Samuel Low, Wilson Low.

Jesse Marks, Zebediah Marsh, Israel Meade.

William Nelson, Ebenezer Newell, David Nichols, Simon Nichols.

Archibald Parker, Enos Parker, Jehaiod Parker, Nathaniel Parker, Ebenezer

Peck, Thomas Pell.

David Remick or Ramick, Peter Reynolds, John Ripley.

Asa Short, Stary Soak, Joshua Sprague, David Stafford.

London Todd, John Tousely, Thomas Tracy, Ebenezer Truesdell.

Wilder Wheeler, Eliphalet White, Asher Williams, John Wilmarth.

## ALFORD.

Bartholomew Barrett, Wait Barrett, John Bostwick, Moses Breck, Moses Branson, Thomas Burnham.

Abraham Chapin, Daniel Conner, John Conner.

Gershom Flagg, William Fleaming.

Alpheus Griffin, David Griffin, John Griffin.

Seth Hamlin, Henry Hatch, Noah Hoskins, John Hurlbut, Joshua Hurlbut.

Thomas Miles.

James Richardson, Joseph Richardson, Thomas Richardson, Elijah Rose.

Aaron Sperry.

Ambrose Ticknor, Benjamin Tyner.

Asa Virgin.

John Warner, Elijah Wilcox, Rufus Wilcox, Sylvanus Wilcox, David Wilkinson.

## BECKET.

Barnabas Adams, David Allen, James Allen, Asahel Alvord, Elijah Alvord, Elbur Andrus, Hezekiah Atwill, Levi Austin.

Joseph Bacon, Daniel Bagg, Benjamin Balley, Solomon Baker, Isaac Ball, Solomon Bell, William Gay Ballantine, Asa Bard, Moses Bard, Samuel Barney, Candott Barnes, William Barnes, Silas Barnes, Moses Bartlett, Aaron Beard, Asa Beard, Josiah Beard, Joseph Bennet, Stephen Benton, Aaron Betts, Preserved Betts, John Bishop, Theodore Blanchard, Silas Blinn, Seth Bond, Elijah Bowers, Nathan Bowers, Jared Bradley, Nino Branch, William Brattle, Gideon Brayer, Benjamin Britton, Charles Britton, Daniel Brown, David Brown, Isaac Brown, James Brown, Obadiah Brown, Timothy Brown, Abner Bruce, Joseph Bryant, Oliver Buel, Seth Burgess, Christopher Burlingham, Stephen Burian, Ebenezer Bush, Gideon Bush, Charles Butler.

Timothy Cadwell, Nicholas Camp, Eliphae Carpenter, Luiza Carpenter &c.





Seth Carpenter, Simeon Carpenter, Zebulon Carpenter, Elisha Carter, Benjamin Chamberlin, Joseph Chamberlin, Daniel Chaplin, Silas Child, Elijah Clark, Jedediah Cleveland, William Cleveland, jr., Andrew Cuddy, Asahel Cogswell, Isaac Cogswell, Joseph Cogswell, Nathan Cogswell, Nathaniel Cogswell, Samuel Cogswell, Samuel Cogswell, jr., Benjamin Cole, John Cole, Phineas Cole, John Conway, Edward Converse, Lambert Cook, Pitman Cook, Asa Cooper, Jacob Cornwell, Ralph Cox, Abel Crane, Samuel Crane, Ezekiel Crocker, Joseph Crocker, Charles Crofoot, Stephen Crofoot, John Crosby, Timothy Crotenden, Stephen Crotenden, Benjamin Culver, Nathan Cummins.

Richard Dale, John Davis, Samuel Davis, Amos Dehano, David Deming, John Deming, Abner Dewey, Barzillius Dewey, Bezuleel Dewey, Nathaniel Dikee, Benjamin Douglas, Obad Drake, William Drake, John Dudley, Joseph Dunwell, Matthew Dunning.

Daniel Edwards, William Edwards, Justin Ely.

Charles Fletcher, James Ferguson, Jonathan Filer, Dyer Fitch, Samuel Fitch, Jacob Fleming, Fenner Foot, James Ford, William Ford, Joseph Foster, Elisha Freeman, Calvin Fuller.

Alexander Gaston, David Gaston, John Gaston, Thomas Gaston, James Gaines, James O. Gates, Joshua Gates, Samuel Gates, Rufus Glass, Caleb Goff, Samuel Goodrich, Wait Goodrich, Eleazer Granger, Joseph Green, John Griswold, James Guiteau, Theophilus Grosvenor, Isaiah Grover (or Graves), Gideon Gunn.

Samuel Hackley, Simeon Hackley, Joseph Hale, Stephen Hallack, Asa Hamblin, Ichabod Hamblin, Daniel Hand, Asa Harris, Abel Harrison, Daniel Hatch, Stephen Hatch, William Hatfield, jr., David Hawley, Jonathan Hawley, Joseph Hawley, Roger Hewett, John Higbee, Micah Higley, Ambrose Hill, Aramiah Hill, Asa Hill, Elisha Hill, Frederick Hill, Titus Hill, Lewis Hodges, Reuben Hodges, Simeon Hooker, Daniel Hoskins, James Howland, Asahel Huggins, Joseph Hull, Peter Hull, Zadoc Hunn, Elijah Hurd, Charles Hutchinson.

Timothy Ide, John Ives, David Ingersoll, Benjamin Ingraham, Samuel Ingraham.

Daniel Jacobs, John James, Timothy Jenison, John Jerome, Lawrence Johnson, Samuel Johnson, Hezekiah Jones, Joseph Jones, Samuel Jones, Thomas Joy, Uriah Judd.

Robert Kasson, Thomas Keeler, Morris Kief, Amos Kingsley, David Kingsley, Ebenezer Kingsley, Elijah Kingsley, Enos Kingsley, Labbens Kingsley, Martin Kingsley, Nathaniel Kingsley, Jedediah Kingsley, Jeremiah Kingsley, Thaddeus Kingsley.

Ebenezer Landers, John Lane, Johnson Lawrence, Joseph Lawrence, David Lee, Darius Lewis, Matthew Lewis, Reuben Lewis, Samuel Hart Lewis, Silas Lincoln, James Livingstone, Daniel Loomis, Jonathan Lynde, Peletiah Lyon, James Lusk, John Lusk.

David Mack, Dublin Malabar, John Manwaring, Zebediah Marsh, Gidron Martin, Stephen Martindale, Michael Mason, Sylvanus Mattoon, Patrick McGee, James McKnight, John McKnight, James McNardy, John McClellan, Jehoshaphat Me-Taxon, William McIntire, Samuel Merriman, Bela Messenger, John Messenger, Thomas Mighills, Ebenezer Millet, Oliver Millet, James Moore, Debra Morse, Joseph Morse, Abel Mudge, David Mudge, John Mudge, Micah Mudge, Henry Muntari.

Moses Nash, Beni Nettleton, Oliver Newell, Thaddeus Newton, Jonathan Nor-



ison, Thomas North, Abraham Northrop, Job Northrop, Samuel Northrop, Elijah Norton.

Daniel Olds, Joel Osborn, Naboth Osborn, David Old, James O'Gate.

Philip Palmer, Elisha Parker, Jonas Parker, Titus Parker, Jr., Abijah Parks, Asa Parks, Titus Parks, Aaron Parmelee, Jr., Aliram Parmelee, Amos Parmelee, Asa Parmelee, Rufus Parmelee, Jacob Parsons, Amos Patterson, Joseph Patterson, Oliver Peirce, James Peabody, John Perrival, Thomas Pessard, Eli Pettibone, Ebenezer Phelps, Jeremiah Pierson, Philander Pomeroy, John Plum, Priscilla Poley, Ephraim Porter, Peter Porter.

John Rankin, Daniel Rathbun, Joseph Raymond, Lemuel Raymond, Deak Reed, Joshua Reed, William Reed, Benjamin Reed, Edphalet Redington, Jabez Redington, Daniel Reynolds, Jonathan Richards, Thomas Rackaell, John Root, Moses Root, Roswell Root, Zenas Root, Peter Rowe, Aaron Rowley, Aaron Rowley, Jr., John Rowley, Moses Rowley, James Rudd.

Josiah Sabins, John Scott, Calvin Shaw, Aaron Sheldon, John Shonson, Jonathan Skeel (Keel), George Sloan, Daniel Slosson, Jehiel Slosson, Ebenezer Smith, Ezra Smith, Gideon Smith, William Smith, Asa Snow, Oliver Snow, Philip Spalding, Alpheus Spencer, Eliphaz Spencer, Nathaniel Spring, John Spring, Carlisle Spunkantum, Samuel Standish, David Stanford, Reuben Steele, Parker Stephens, Eels Sterns, Matthew Stewart, Elisha Stevens, Joel Stevens, Jeremiah Stevens, Parker Stevens, Abner Stone, William Stone. —sha Strong, John Streetet, John Suterer jr., Elijah Sweet.

John Taggart, Eldad Taylor, John Taylor, Lewis Taylor, Willis Taylor, Calvin Tilden, Isaiab Tilden, Stephen Tomplin, Knos Tracy, Seth Tracy, Thomas Tracy, Isaac Train, Dorotheus Treat, Timothy Treat, Abner Trimmings, Philip Trimmer, Peter Turner, Reuben Turner.

John Wade, Jabez Wadsworth, Ebenezer Walden, Ebenezer Walker, Harry Walker, John Walker, Jonathan Walker, Stephen Walker, Hezekiah Wardwell, Jason Warren, Benjamin Waters, Melotiah Weeks, Walter Welch, Stephen Wells, Joseph Westcott, Abner West, Andrew West, Jonathan West, Harry Whippley, Ichabod Whidden, Ezra Whitaker, Ezra Whittlesey, Simon Wiley, Orrel Willesak, Asahel Willmarth, David Williams, Elisha Williams, Frederick Williams, John Williams, James Wood, Amasa Woodruff, Seth Woodruff, Jehiel Wright, Ozias Weigot.

Moses Yale, Clemens Young.

#### CHEBINE.

Ephraim Amsdill, David Arnold.

Jeremiah Bachelor, Nathan Baker, Benjamin Bailey, Jeremiah Barker, Daniel Barnes, Alexander Barr, Bristol Bennett, Joseph Bennett, Jr., Aaron Bowen, Elijah Bowen, Ely Bowen, Nathan Bowen, Valentine Bowen, John Boran, Gideon Bailey, Elisha Bradford, Ichabod Brown, Jeremiah Brown, John Brown, Darius Brecklin.

Stephen Carpenter, Aaron Case, Lemuel Chamberlin, John Chase, John Cheek, Jediah Cleveland, Philip Cole, Simon Cole, David Collier, Benjamin Collins, Benson Collins, Jeremiah Collins.

Jeremiah Daley, Uriah Davis, Samuel Day, Stephen Day.

Lovit Eddy, John Eliot.

Jason Fay, Peter Fay, Charles Felshaw, John Fisher, David Fuller.

Charles Grandison, Jonathan Grandison, Simon Grandison, Amos Graves, John Guiteau.





Levi Hancock, Benjamin Hanks, William Hatfield, Benjamin Hazard, John Horskins.

Sipp Ives.

Abijah Jenkins, William Jenkins, Isaac Johnson, Alfred Joyce, Jonathan Joyce, Edward Kilby, Elijah Knapp, Richard Knight.

John Ladd, Ezra Lamfear, Silvester Lincoln, John Lippitt, Hooker Low, Samuel Low, William Low.

Jediah Marsh, Jonathan Marsh, Levi Mason, Michael Mason, Nathan Mason, William Mayhew, Samuel McIntire, Thomas Mill.

Brister (negro), Cyrus (negro).

Asabel Newton, Jason Newton, Luther Newton, Thomas Nichols.

Peter Parker, John Parker, Joseph Pierce, Thomas Pell, Seth Perry, Ichabod Prosser, Timothy Puffer.

Billings Randall, Benjamin Razy, Daniel Reed, Stephen Remington, Hez-ekiah Rhodes, Ebenezer Richards, John Richardson, Jonathan Richardson, Nehemiah Richardson, Christopher Roberts, Benjamin Roberts.

George Searls, Amos Smith, Ekanah Smith, Ephraim Smith, Jeremiah Smith, Simeon Smith, Charles Spencer, Rufus Spencer, Thomas Spencer, Josiah Simmons, Joab Stafford, Richard Stafford, Samuel Stafford, Aaron Stow.

Stephen Thilley, Levi Thompson, William Townet, Solomon Tracy, William Tracy.

Nicholas Vinson.

Daniel Walker, Israel Walker, Michael Watkins, Thomas Walkinson, Charles Waikner, Josiah Ward, Peter Wardin sen., John Warren, Richmond Werden, Robert Whipple, William Whitaker, Zachariah Whitaker, John Whitney, Thomas Whiting, Samuel Whitney.

Andrew Yaw.

#### DALTON.

Timothy Arnold.

Edmund Bacon, Lemuel Badger, Bethnel Baker, Jonathan Bass, Moses Bixby, Elisha Burchard, Nathan Button, Rufus Butts.

Eleazer Cady, Jonathan Closson, John Cole, Rufus Cole, Benjamin Coy, Mark Crawford.

Titus Demmon, Stephen Downing.

Alpheus Eaton.

John Ferroll, Daniel Foot, John Foot, Zephaniah Fox, Oliver Franklin, Nathaniel Freeman.

Benjamin Gallup, John Gallup, Wait Goodrich, Clark Green, Isaac Griffin.

Jonathan Hill, David Hollibut, Jedediah Hubbell.

Barachiah Johnson, Ozias Johnson.

Amos King, Thaddeus Kingsley, Richard Kinney.

Eli Lanfear, Josiah Lawrence, Ruben Lewis, Moses Little, Seth Luce.

Thaddeus McConnell.

John Meacham, Daniel Merriman, Joseph Morse.

Henry Nickerson, Zebulon Norton.

Handford Olds.

Elisha Parker, Israel Peck, James Peck, Caleb Peirce, Nehemiah Peirce, Amos Pettibone, Abraham Porter, John Porter.





Ord Roberts.

Josiah Sabin, Luther Shaw, Eliakim Sheldon, Benjamin Sherwood, Joseph Slack, William Slack, Beriah Smith, Lemuel Smith, Lemuel Southwick, Andrew Spafford, Calvin Sprague, Isaac Stearns, Abraham Stewart, Roger Stry, Solomon Stry, Nathaniel Stowell.

Eldad Taylor, Jonathan Thayer, Elijah Thomas, Peter Thompson, Edmund Townd, John Tupper, Thomas Tupper.

James Walker, Stephen Walker, Nathan Warner, David Warriner, Joseph Watkins, William Welles, Henry Willcox, Jude Williams, Nathan Wright.

#### FOREMONT.

John Adams.

Samuel Bardwell, Andrew Barnes, Jason Bartlett, Charles Bush.

Samuel Carver, Gideon Culver, Joseph Culver.

John Derby.

John Elderson.

Joseph Finn, Thomas Finn, John Fitch, Jonathan Freeman, Roswell Fuller.

Allan Graves, David Gilder, Darius Griffin.

Francis Hare, Francis Hare, Abraham Haskins, Christopher Hendel, Thomas Hewitt, Ebenezer Hopkins, Stephen Hopkins.

John Jay, Samuel Jay, Asahel Joyner, William Joyner.

Eldad Kellogg, John Kellogg, Reuben Kellogg, Titus Kellogg, Dirck Kurent, Andrew Kurner, Nicholas Kurner.

Benajah Loomis, Daniel Loomis, Jacob Loomis, Michael Loomis.

Samuel Martin, Samuel Mitchell.

John Ogden, James Orcutt.

John Phelps.

Benjamin Randall, James Robinson, William Robinson, James Root, ed, William Root.

Ezra Shaw, Samuel Southworth, Abraham Spoor, Joel Strong, John Stuart.

Joseph Taylor, Oliver Taylor, Samuel Taylor, Philip Tremain, Solomon Tremain.

Andrew Van Gilder, Benjamin Van Gilder, Isaac Van Gilder, Joseph Van Gilder.

Matthew Van Gilder, Nicholas Van Gilder.

Eliakim Wankel, Azariah Winchell, David Winchell, Hezekiah Winchell, Joel Winchell, Joseph Winchell, Simon Willard.

#### GREAT HARRINGTON.

John Adams, William Adams, Samuel Atkins, Moses Akins, Levi Andrus.

Theophilus Baldwin, Justus Battle, Mose Bird, Jedediah Buckingham, Samuel Brewer, Joseph Broderick.

John Campbell, Russell Chamberlain, Jonathan Chapin, Samuel Chapin, Barnaby Chapman, John Chevalier, Charles Cornerick, Nathaniel Crimenden, Daniel Culver.

Samuel Davis, William Denton, Josiah Dewey, Peter Dubois, Henry Williams Dwight, Jonathan Dyke.

Asa Eddy, Preserved Edgecomb.

Fortune Fogg, James Fuller, Jonathan Fuller, Peter Fuller.

Ephraim Goss, James Gray, John Gration, Gershom Gration, Joseph Griffin.



Nathan Hale, Joseph Hodgkins, Jephthah Hollar, Samuel Hopkins, Noah Hoskins, Robert Humphrey, Jehial Hurd, John Hurley, Phineas Hyde.

Peter Ingersoll, Timothy Ingersoll.

William Johnson, Silas Jones.

Ezra Kellogg, York Kilburn (negro), William King, Edmond Kingland.

Jacob Loomis.

Joseph Mansfield, Henry McGonegal, Richard Mitchell, Hugh Montgumrey, Asahel Munroe.

John Nash, Morton (negro), Peter Nephry, Simeon Noble, Daniel North.

John O'Connor, Zebulon Olds.

John Patterson, William Patterson, Thomas Patterson, Herckish Phelps, John Phelps, Jonah Phelps, Josiah Phelps, Solomon Pier, Lucius Pixley, Samuel Pixley, Isaac Preston, John Powell, John Putnam.

Samuel Ransom, Michael Ray, Alpheus Rice, John Roberts, William Roberts, James Robinson, Benjamin Ross (or Rose), Elijah Root, Israel Root, Seth Rowley.

Abraham Scutt, Henry Slater, Sturgeon Sloan, Henry Smith, Silas Sprague, John Spence, Elisha Sperry, Nathan Sperry, John Spoor, John Steel, Solomon Steel, John Stearns, John Stewart, Benjamin Stillwell, Daniel Stillwell, Othniel Strong.

Samuel Taylor, John Thomas.

James Van Gilder.

Joel Walker, Levi Walter, Daniel Warner, Aaron Watson, James Welding, Levi Wheelock, Abel Whitcomb, Gamaliel Whiting, William Whiting, Samuel Willard, Thomas Wilson, Thomas Wood, Samuel Worthington.

#### HANCOCK.

Ebenezer Andrus, Jabez Arnold, Thomas Arnold, Abel Austin, Ezekiel Austin, George Austin, John Austin, Paul Austin.

John Backus, Benjamin Bacon, Timothy Bacon, Benjamin Baker, Reynolds Baker, Solomon Baker, William Baker, Eleazer Bateman, Job Bateman, Joseph Bateman, Zadock Bateman, Daniel Barker, Jared Barker, Uziel Barker, David Baxter, Jotham Beach, John Beal, David Becket, John Beebe, Jabez Bennett, Joseph Bennett, Robert Bennett, Isaac Bishop, Job Bishop, Ephraim Boardman, William Boardman, Abel Bradway, Richard Bradway, Gideon Brayton, Carey Briggs, Francis Briggs, Hananiah Brooks, Daniel Brown, David Brown, James Brown, Jonathan Brown, Silas Brown, Solomon Brown.

Isaac Cady, Rowland Carpenter, Haynes Carpenter, Silas Childs, Jonah Clark, Asa Clothier, Jesse Clothier, John Clothier, Luther Cogswell, Solomon Cogswell, Gideon Cole, William Cole, Reuben Cory, Henry Covel, David Cummings, Henry Cummings, Joseph Cummings, Nathan Cummings, James Curbly, Caleb Curtis, Benjamin Dalton, James Darrow, Nathan Dart, Joseph Davis, William Demming, John Douglas, Nathaniel Douglas, Peter Douglas, Wheeler Douglas, William Douglas, Samuel Dyer.

John Eggleston, Jacob Eggleston, Joseph Eldridge, Thomas Eldridge, Justin Ely, Noah Ely, Reuben Ely.

Simeon Franklin.

Ishmael Gardner, Nathaniel Gardner, Elijah Goodrich, David Goodrich, Jeremiah Goodrich, Zebulon Goodrich, Caleb Gordon, Ebenezer Gould, Jabez Gould,





Thomas Gould, Asher Green, Reuben Green, Adley Greenman, Edward Greenman, John Greenman, Asahel Gregory, Isaiah Grimes, Abraham Grover, Julia Grover, Peter Grover.

Timothy Hall, Amos Hammond, Gideon Hammond, William Hammond, Samuel Harrington, Henry Hazard, Goudry Halph, Joseph Harrington, Peter Harrington, Samuel Hickok, Nathan Hills, Samuel Hills, Dudley Haldrotge.

Jonah Jacobs.

William Keech, Benjamin Kettle.

Joseph Langworthy, Philemon Lee, James Lohdell, Joshua Loughy jr., Andrew Lusk, Amos Luther.

James McEvers, Isaac Martin, Simeon Martin, Daniel Munn.

John Narramore, John Nichols, Richard Nichols.

Daniel Osborn, James Osborn.

John Parkis, Wait Palmer, Abner Perry, Isaac Perry, Andrew Patten, John Preston.

Joseph Robins, Nathaniel Robins, Jonathan Robinson, Joseph Robinson, Jonathan Rounds, Thomas Rouse.

George Scranton, John Shaple, Stephen Smith, William Smith, Henry Sparks, Jonathan Spaulding, Samuel Spencer, Ishmael Spunk, Thomas Stafford, Thomas Sullwell, George Sweet.

William Tanner, Israel Talbot, Israel Thomas, William Towner, Amasa Townsend, John Towser, Richard Trent, Theat Treat, John Tree, Caleb Trowbridge, Gideon Turner, Zeal Tyler.

David Vaughan, Joshua Vinson.

Job Wait, Robert Walkley, Elihu Waters, Sterling Waters, George Weaver, Peter Wells, Noah Wheaton, Spencer Wheaton, Edward Wheeler, Reuben White, William White, Joseph Whitney, Joshua Whitney, Matthias Whitney, Simeon Wiley, John Williams, Job Wright.

#### LANESBOROUGH.

William Abben, Joseph Adams, Abraham Andrews or Andrus, Isaac Andrews, John Andrews, Esek Angel, Abner Alger, Bawn E. Allen, John Allen, William Allen, John Alvord, Thomas Alvord.

David Babbitt, Elkanah Babbitt, John Babbitt, Benjamin Bailey, Edward Bailey, Anson Bagg, Joseph Bagg, Bethnel Baker, Francis Baker, Jacob Baker, John Baker, Newell Baker, Silas Baker, Samuel Baker, Jonathan Bancroft, Ezra Barker, John Barker, Newhall Barker, Paul Barker, Pitts Barker, Silas Barker, Asa Barns, Christopher Barns, Hezekiah Barns, Joseph Barns, Joseph Barns jr., Moses Barns, Stephen Barns, William Barns, Christopher Barney, Jabez Barnum, Stephen Barnum, Thomas Barnum, Tilson Barrows, Caleb Barton, William Barton, David Baxter, Gershom Beach, Hopson Beebe, John Beers, Samuel Beers, Jeremiah Belcher, William Bennett, Edward Blair, Levi Bliss, Nathaniel Bliss, Jabez Boardman, Thomas Boggs, Joseph Boomer, James Bowles, Asahel Bradley, Jude Bradley, Leah Bradley, William Bradley, Gideon Bradley, Daniel Brandige, Nathaniel Brandige, Amos Brant, Hadeniah Brooks, Jonathan Brooks, Alpheus Brown, Daniel Brown, Jeremiah Brown, Richard Brown, William Brown, John Bryant, Samuel Bryant, Asa Buck, Asahel Buck, Daniel Buck, Ebenezer Buck, Samuel Buck, Samuel Buol, Benjamin Burgess, Dennis Burgess, Jacob Burgess, Seth Burgess, Christopher Burney, Joseph Burns, James Bul (or Ball), Nehemiah Bull, Solomon Burnell, James Burdett.





Jonathan Carlin, Thomas Cotter, Aaron Case, Levi Chapin, Lewis Chapin, Barnard Chase, Jeremiah Chase, Ezra Chilson, Josiah Church, Abel Clark, Daniel Clark, Ebenezer Clark, Goudyeat Clark, Israel Clark, James Clark, John Clark, Stephen Clark, Jonathan Closson, Noah Closson, James Cobb, Anna Cobb, James Cobb, Reuben Cole, Solomon Cole, John Collins, William Collins, James Cotton, Benjamin Comer, Daniel Comer, Michael Conolly, Amasa Cook, Benjamin Coy, John Cox, John Crandall, James Crosson, Asa Curtis, Bart Curtis, Samuel Curtis, David Curtis.

Jeremiah Daley, Pardon Daley, Amos Darwin, Samuel Dawes, Richard Davidson, Levi Day, Perez Dean, Charles Denslow, Hugh Dublin, Rufus Dodge, Asa Dorwin, Ephraim Dorwin, Reuben Dorwin, Rosal Dorwin, Edward Dunham, Eedien Durham, Abner Durwin, Allen Durwin, Ephraim Durwin.

Amos Eady, John Eaton, John Ellis, Waterman Ellis, Stephen Ellis, Chasney Ensign, David Ensign, Silas Ensign, Luther Everts, Seth Everts.

Lemuel Fancker, Stephen Farnham, Joseph Farnham, David Fish, Zachariah Fish, Isaac Fisk, Andrew Fillmore, Daniel Foot, Oliver Franklin, Jonas Foster, Jonah Frisbie jr., Josiah Frisbie, Thaddeus Frisbie.

Josiah Gifford, Alexander Gillaon or Jillion, Asahel Goodrich, James Goodrich, Thomas Goodrich, John Gown, Levi Gown, Elijah Gray, Caleb Green, Charles Green, Chase Green, Clark Green, Duty Green, Hammond Green, Jabez Green, John Green, Levi Green, Noah Green, Peleg Green, Russell Green, Silas Green, William Green, Asahel Gregory, Joseph Gregory, Stephen Gregory, Thomas Gregory, Lester Grosvenor, Theophilus Grosvenor, Joseph Guthrie.

Calvin Hall, Gersham Hall, John Hall, Josiah Hall, Luther Hall, Lyman Hall, Timothy Hall, John Hammond, Abraham Hambury, Andrew Harmon, Benjamin Harrington, Daniel Harrington, Joshua Harrington, Samuel Harrison, Oliver Harwood, William Hatfield, Cornelius Havens, John Haynes, Knick Hubbard, Amos Hicks, David Hicks, Aaron Hickok, David Hill, Andrew Hinman, Curtis Harman, Gideon Hinman, Moses Hinman, Noah Hinman, Ichabod Hitchcock, Jesse Hitchcock, Samuel Hix, Simeon Hix, John Hoffman, Daniel Hollis, Elijah Hollis, Thaddeus Holobut, John Homes, Isaac Honeywell, Isaiah Honeywell, Elias Honeywell, Samuel Hoppings (Hopkins?), Isaac Horton, Squire Horton, William Horton, Ichabod Howard, Ezra Hoyt, Seth Hoyt, Thomas Hubbard, Zadock Hubbard, David Hubbell, Hickok Hubbell, Jedediah Hubbell, Matthew Hubbell, Wolcott Hubbell, Abraham Hunsinger, Philo Hurd, Elijah Hurlbut, Thaddeus Harlbut, Charles Hutchins.

Abraham Jackson, Asahel Jackson, Jeremiah Jacobs, Bill Jarvis, Joseph Jarvis, Samuel Jecocks, David Jewett, Stephen Jewett, Timothy Jewett, George Jarvis, Daniel Johnson, Daniel Jones, Ephraim Jones, Enos Jones, Daniel Jones, Joel Jones, Samuel Jones, Francis Jordan, Matthew Johnson, William Johnson, Alfred Joyce.

Edward Kelley, Ebenezer Keeler, Elijah Keeler, Seth Keeler, Thomas Keeling, Gideon Kent, Noah Kent, Amos King, Medad King, Noble King, Stephen King, Elkenah Kingsbury.

Phineas Lamfear, Newcomb Lamkin, Phineas Lamson, William Lamson, Thomas Lawrence, Thomas Lester, Ezekial Lewis, Lemuel Littleington, Silas Lincoln, Ezra Loomis, James Loomis, James Loomis jr., Joseph Loomis, Moses Loomis, Abel Lyon, Jabez Lyon, John Lyon, Kimberley Lyon, Richard Lyon.

James Maguire, Dependence Mann, Monday Manly, Samuel Martin, Aaron



Mason, Barnard Mason, Coomer Mason, David Mason, Harden Mason, Herediah Mason, Isaiah Mason, James Mason, Jesse Mason, Levi Mason, Malachi Mason, Matthew Mason, Michael Mason, Nathan Mason, Pardon Mason, Rufus Mason, Shubael Mason, Caleb Martin, Walt Martin, Thaddens McConnell, Thaddens McEvill, Stephen Mead, Timothy Miner, Hugh Mitchell, Benjamin Moore, Elias Moore, William Moore, John Mosher, Jared Munson, Thaddens Maurer.

Isaac Nash, Ebenezer Newell, Jason Newton, Samuel Newton, Henry Nicholson, Stephen Northrop, Thomas Northrop, Charles Norton, Daniel Norton, Ebenezer Norton, Jesse Norton.

Benjamin Olney, Elijah Osborn.

Asahel Packard, David Paine, Joseph Paine, Elhin Parker, Asahel Parkhurst, Asa Parks, John Parrish, Samuel Payne, Caleb Pearce, Simeon Pease, James Peirce, Nathaniel Pease, James Peirce, Abel Pettibone, Amos Pettibone, Eli Pettibone, Jacob Pettibone, Jonathan Pettibone, Roger Pettibone, Samuel Pettibone, Seth Pettibone, Clothier Pierce, Daniel Pierce, Hezekiah Pierce, John Pierce, Ruben Pierce, Abiel Platt, Ezra Platt, William Popple, Asa Porter, Abiel Powell, Asahel Powell, Caleb Powell, David Powell, Ephraim Powell, Elijah Powell, Elijah Powell jr., John Powell, Miles Powell, Robert Powell, Thomas Powell, William Powell, David Pratt, John Pratt, Nathaniel Pratt, Joseph Prince, Elijah Proctor.

Benjamin Reed, Jeremiah Reed, Joshua Reed, Timothy Reed, Jonathan Remington, Ishmael Reynolds, Nehemiah Rice, Josiah Rice, Petatiah G. Ricson, Amos Ring, Noble Ring, James Rowe, Jonathan Royce, Josiah Royce, Nehemiah Royce, Thomas Robblee, William Robblee, Peter Robinson, Jeremiah Rockwell, John Rockwell, David Rood.

Martin Salisbury, William Sampson, Nathaniel Sanger, Jehiel Savage, John Secomb, John Seymour, William Seymour, Luther Shaw, Caleb Sheffield, Benjamin Sheldon, Icabod Sherlock, Daniel Sherman, George Sherman, Job Sherman, John Sherman, Timothy Sherman, Josiah Simonds, John Sims, David Skeals, John Stain, Caleb Smith, George Smith, Isaac Smith, Joel Smith, Jonathan Smith, Joseph Smith, Samuel Smith, Asa Spalding, Jesse Spalding, Philip Spalding, Gorton Spencer, Ezek Sprague, Gideon Sprague, Peter Sprague, Ebenezer Stearns, Isaac Stearns, Abraham Stewart, Samuel Stewart, Nathaniel Stewart, Joseph Stevens, Theodore Stevens, Samuel Stevens, David Stiles, Samuel Strickland, Andrew Squires, Timothy Squires, Samuel Sweetling.

Benajah Terril, David Terril, John Terril, Truman Terril, Hiram Terry, Amos Thayer, Joseph Thomas, Benjamin Thornton, Samuel Thornton, John Tibbitts, Benjamin Tillotson, Joshua Tillotson, Stephen Tombling, Noah Torrey, Joseph Tower, Elishama Towzer, Solomon Tracy, Benjamin Trivett, William Tyler.

Daniel Walker, Gideon Walker, Joseph Walker, Silas Walker, Daniel Waller, Nathan Ward, Isaac Warren, Samuel Warren, Seth Warren, John Waterman, Oliver Webster, Benjamin Weed, Jacob Weed, Jacob Weed, jr., Jonathan Weed, James Westcott, Oliver Westcott, Asa Wheeler, Asahel Wheeler, David Wheeler, Edward Wheeler, Freeman Wheeler, Gideon Whigles, Jonathan Wheeler, Nathan Wheeler, Seth Wheeler, Simeon Wheeler, Truman Wheeler, John White, William White, John Whitely, Peleg Whitford, Asahel Whipple, Stephen Whipple, John Whiting, William Whiting, Thomas Whitney, Jesse Wilcox, Daniel Wilcox, John Wilford, Josiah Wilcox, Oliver Wilcox, Nathaniel Williams, William Williams, Thomas Wentworth, Lewis Wisso, Daniel Wixon, Moses Wolcott, Samuel Wolcott, Daniel Wood, John







Wood, Nathan Wood, Nathan Wood, jr., Asa Woodward, Daniel Woodward, Simon Woodworth, Eli Wright, Isaac Wright.

Diah Young, John Sprague Young, John Young.

### LEE.

Cornelius Atkins, George Atkins.

Jared Bradley.

John Church, Elisha Collins, Jedediah Crocker.

Samuel Dakin, Samuel Davis.

John Ellis.

Benjamin Handy, Joseph Handy, Braddock Hopkins.

David Ingersoll, Jared Ingersoll.

Jacob Northrup.

Peter (negro).

John Scott, John Smith, Joseph Strong, Paul Stephens.

Joseph Tolman or Totman, Thomas Treat.

Garrett Viagar.

Aaron West, Amasa West, Asa West, Oziel Wilcox, Samuel Wright, Samuel Wright jr.

### LEE AND LENOX.

Lemuel Barlow, Oliver Belding, Solomon Blin.

Jesse Clark, Ashbel Collins, Eliakim Colver, Stephen Crittenden.

Solomon Davis, William Dillingham, Elijah Dodge, David Dunbar.

Jonathan Foot.

Seth Gibbs, Allen Goodrich.

Levi Hatch, Jeremiah Hewitt, Lodowick Hewitt, Isaac House, Andrew Hyde.

William Ingersoll, Oliver Isbel.

Ebenezer Landers, Charles Lewis, John Lewis.

Jonathan Maltby, Israel Markham.

Josiah Newel, Job Northrop.

Isaac Olds.

George Parker, Silas Pond.

James Richards.

David Sears, Perez Simmons, Paul Stephens, Philo Stoddard, Horatio Strong.

Nathaniel Tobey, John Treat, Thomas Treat, Timothy Tuttle.

Henry Wensey, Caleb West, Levi West, John Willard.

Josiah Yale.

### LENOX.

Elijah Allen, Samuel Allen, Barzillai Andrus, Elias Armstrong, John Aamon.

Lyman Baker, Roswell Ballard, Elisha Bangs, Samuel Bathy, Thomas Bennett, Bunman Benson, Peter Berry, David Birge, Jesse Bishop, Joel Blinn, Silas Blinn, Daniel Booge, Samuel Boyd.

Levi Carr, Caleb Carver, Ephraim Cary, John Case, Silvanus Chadwick, Christopher Chester, James Churchill, Bildad Clark, David Clark, John Clements, William Coan, John Coats, Lemuel Collins, Raphael Cook, Asa Cooper, John Coontz, David Cowdrey, Jediah Crittenden, Seymour Crittenden, Timothy Crittender, Cook Dabney, Samuel Culver, Daniel Curtis, David Curtis, Joel Curtis.



Israel Dancy, Elijah Dewey, Charles Dibble, Israel Dibble, Joshua Doane, Samuel Dunbar jr., Joseph Dwight.

Elijah Edwards, John Ellis.

Samuel Filsey, Thomas Foster.

Elijah Gates, Ashbel Goodrich, Gilbert Goodrich, Jacob Goodrich, Lemuel Goodrich, Noah Goodrich, John Grace, Elisha Gripon, David Gray, John Gray, Isaiah Gray, James Guthrie, Joseph Guthrie, Samuel Guthrie.

Thomas Hale, Matthias Hall, Miles Hall, Watkins Hall, Asa Hamlin, Joseph Hamlin, Asahel Haskins, Moses Hay, Benjamin Hewitt, Jedediah Hewitt, John Hewitt, Eliada Hickok, Cyrenus Hill, David Hodge, John Hork, Ephraim Houghton, Jesse Hollister, Joseph Hollister, William Hollister, Jabez Howland, Thomas Hudson, Jeremiah Hull, Benjamin Hunt, Silas Hurlbut, Caleb Hyde, Charles Hyde.

Isaac Isaacs.

Samuel Jerome, Edward Johnson, Michael Johnson, ———ing Johnson.

——miel Keith, Patrick Kelly, James Kilby.

Aquila Landers, Joseph Landers, Peleg Landers, Richard Larrabee, George Leonard, Job Leonard, James Livingston, Curtis Lewis.

William Maltby, Gershom Martindale, Stephen Martindale, William Martindale, Patrick McKeon, Samuel Merriam, William Merry, Daniel Messenger, Isaac Morse, John North, Caleb Northrup, Elijah Northrup.

Jeremiah Osborn, Robert Owen.

Linus Parker, Rufus Parker, Samuel Philipps, Prosper Polley, Abel Pond, Thomas Pond, Amos Porter, Raphael Porter.

Abijah Richards, Jonas Root.

Ziba Sabins, Zacheus Sandford, Philip Sears, Amos Smith, Simeon Smith, Thomas Steel, Charles Stewart, Jacob St. John, Enos Stone, Peleg Stone, Amos Stoddard, Gustavus Stoughton, Lemuel Sumfield, Aquila Sanders.

Berijah Taylor, Ezra Tillson, Timothy Treat.

Caleb Walker, Samuel Walner, Silas Walton, William Warner, Jason Warren, Timothy Way, William Wells, Ebenezer Whalen, Ebenezer Wheden, Richard Whitney, Simon Willard, Peter Wise, David Wood, Moses Wood, Andrew Wright, Asahel Wright, Jonathan Wright, Timothy Wright, Gad Woodruff, Simon Woodward.

Noah Yale.

#### MOUNT WASHINGTON.

Detur Adams, Abijah Allen, Nathan Allen.

Niles Bentley, David Betts, jr., Hosea Bills, Frederick Bosworth, David Bowen, Caleb Bush, Japhet Bush, Samuel Bush.

Benjamin Campbell, Nathan Campbell, William Campbell, Eadney Cleveland, Solomon Cook.

Samuel Daniels, Gershom Darling, John Dedrick, John Delemore, Simon Deming, Justin Dewey, Silas Dewey, John Dibble, Samuel Dibble, William Dixon, Isaac Dunham, Abner Dyer, Elijah Eggleston, Simon Fuller.

William Grant, Thaddeus Graves, David Griffith.

James Hatch, Joel Holcomb, John Holmes, Hendrick Hays, Ebenel Hamble, Bailey Hubbard.

Arunah Johnston.

Moses Kelley, Nathaniel Kellogg, Elias Keyes, Robert Kilborn, Eliza King, George King, Gideon King, John King, Nathaniel Kingsbury.





Joseph Leonard.

Joseph Mansfield, Stephen Marchant, Darius Markom, Job Menander, Joseph Mosher.

Joseph Noble.

Epratis Owen.

Seth Phelps, John Povel.

Robert Rood, Solomon Rood, Hewett Root, Boswell Root.

Allen Sage, Ebenezer Smith, Ellisha Smith, Asa Sparks, John Spencer, William Spoor, Barney Sprague, Ebenezer Sprague, Ambrose Squires, Ebenezer Stevens, Azariah Sturtevant.

Daniel Taylor, Silas Tracey, Samuel Trowbridge, Uriah Turner.

Jonathan Ward, John Wells, Jonah Westover, Abner Wilcox, Abner Woodier, Peter Woodin, Enos Woodworth, Charles Wright, Solomon Wright.

#### NEW ASHFORD.

Amariah Babbit, David Baxter, John Baxter, Nathan Baxter, Johnam Buck, Andrew Booth, Robert Bradford or Bradford, Michael Buck or Bush.

Anthony Cleaver.

Asa Davison.

Peleg Ellsworth.

James Foot.

Asahel Gregory, Isbin Gregory.

Dudley Holdridge.

Joshua Jecocks.

Abel Kent, Nathaniel Kent, Abraham Kirby, James Kirby.

Samuel Lewis, John Lloyd, Thomas Lyon.

Peter Mallery, Peter Martin.

Asa Pettis, John Pettis.

Alpheus Rude.

John Thompson, Joseph Thompson, Noah Thresher, Benjamin Tyler, Benjamin Tyler jr., Bezaleel Tyler, Samuel Tyler.

John N. Weaver, Samuel Wells.

#### NEW MARLBOROUGH.

Moses Adams, Obadiah Adams, Simon Adams, Ezra Allen, Jonathan Allen, Richard Avery.

William Baker, Daniel Barney, Artemus Brigham, Reuben Brookins, William Brookins, Daniel Brooks, David Brooks, Jehiel Brooks, Luther Brooks, Azariah Brown, Obadiah Brown, Phineas Brown, Reuben Brown.

Joseph Canfield, Nathan Chapin, Samuel Chapin, Isaac Chappel, David Church, Benjamin Cole, Charles Cole, Solomon Cook, Benjamin Cornish, Gabriel Cornish, Jabez Cornish, Michael Cotton, Abel Cummings, Obadiah Cummings, Zerkiah Cullen.

David Darling, Levi Darling, Samuel Darling, Walter Deen, John Dodge.

Charles Ellis.

Joseph Fitch, Eli Freeman, John Freeman, Ekanah Feltner.

Samuel Gillson, Isaac Gillett, Noadiah Gureu, William Gillett, Joshua Greene, William Griswold, Samuel Grew.

Ebenezer Hall, Isaac Hall, Moses Hall, Olaus Hatten, Epitomon Hewett, Luke



Hickok, Ebenezer Hoyt jr., Elijah Hoyt, Darius How, Medad Huggins, James Huezey, John Hyde, Joseph Hyde, Obadiah Johnson.

William Kelley, John Kidder, B. Mattin King, Ezra Knapp.

John Lamphear, Ephraim Leonard, Michael Lyon.

Benjamin Morris, Nicholas Marigan.

Luke Noble.

Moses Orcutt.

Peter Pease, Elijah Peck, Grove Pomroy, Phineas Pomroy, Simeon Pomroy.

Augustine Reed.

Caleb Sears, Nathaniel Shaw, Elisha Sheldon, Seth Sheldon, Delforamus Spaulding, Phineas Spaulding, Uriah Spaulding, Amos Smith, David Smith, Ebenezer Smith, Elisha Smith, Nathan Smith, Richard Smith, William Smith, William Simmons, Bildad Soule, Charles Soule, Moses Soule, Claudius Stannard, Ebenezer Stevens.

Elisha Torrey, Silas Tracy, John Trisket, Benjamin Tucker.

Gordon Walker, Moses Wallis, Jabez Ward, Ralph Ward, Jabez Ward jr., Thaddeus Ward, George Warden, Noah Warner, Zebediah Wheeler, Joseph White, Daniel Williams, Jedediah Winchell, Asahel Wright, Caleb Wright.

John Yeats.

## OTIS.

Benjamin Babb, Albert Blackwood, Barzillai Brewer.

Joseph Clough, Jonathan Cook, Ichabod Cruttenden.

David Dunning.

Joshua Finck.

Elisha Gilbert.

Joseph Hodgkins, John Holdridge, Abijah Hubbard, David Hubbard, Samuel Hubbard, Samuel Hubbard, jr.

Adonijah Jacobs.

David Kibbe, Samuel Kibbe, Stephen Kibbe.

Paul Larcomb.

John Manwarring, William Moore.

Samuel Pelton.

Thomas Rand, Samuel Rowley.

Richard Smith.

John Trumbull.

Richard Vining.

Nathaniel Wood.

## PETER.

Elijah Bacon, James Bacon, Joseph Bacon, Jonah Babcock, Samuel Babcock, Joseph Badger, Jonathan Bass, Benjamin Bixby, Ebenezer Black, Moses Boster, Abraham Blackman, Samuel Blackman, Jesse Bunn, Jotham Bruce, Rufus Bunn, Nicholas Bulkley.

Thomas Caswell, Joseph Clark.

Salmon Dayton, Benjamin Dike.

Mark Eames, Caleb Eddy.

Experience Fisk, Sylvanus Fisk, Thomas Fisk, William Fitcher, Daniel Fink.

David Ide.

John Jorjy.





Edward Kibbe, Daniel Kinney,  
 John Lesure, Charles Loomer, Frederick Loomer, Joseph Loomer,  
 Prince Matthews, Eames Marko, Daniel McLug, Cae McIlfree, Cornelius Miller,  
 Frederick Miller, Zacheus Miller,  
 Stephen Paine, Ebenezer Paine,  
 Amasa Rockwell, Ebenezer Russ,  
 James Sawyer, Peter Sawyer, Beniah Smith, Landon Smith, Sylvanus Smith, Ebenezer Swallan.

Amos Thayer, Jonathan Thayer, John Torrey, Josiah Torrey, Ebenezer Troutland, Charles Turner.

John Vaughan.

David Warner, Andrew Watkins, Gilbert Watkins, James Watkins, Mark Watkins, Micah Watkins, Nathan Watkins, Oliver Watkins, Samuel Watkins, William Watkins, Zachary Watkins, Charles White, John White, Spencer Wheaton, Samuel Wheeler, Samuel Willcox, Ephraim Wright, Squire Wood.

#### PITTSFIELD.

Jabez Albro, Jabez Allen, Joseph Allen, Rufus Allen, Thomas Allen, Elijah Ames, Colman Andrews, David Ashley, Benjamin Austin, Ebenezer Austin, Shubael Austin.

John Babbit, Daniel Babcock, Simeon Babcock, Lebbeus Backus, Daniel Bagg, David Bagg, Martin Bagg, Phineas Bagg, Daniel Baker, Enoch Baker, James Baker, Lyman Baker, Solomon Baker, Timothy Baker, William Baker, Daniel Barber, Jacob Barber, James Barber, Matthew Barber, Phineas Barber, Simeon Barber, William Barber, Samuel Barney, Moses Bartlett, Jonathan Bateman, Daniel Bates, Richard Baxter, William Beard, David Beckwith, Charles Belding, Levi Belding, Oliver Belding, Francis Belknap, Hugh Berry, Joshua Bigelow, Jonathan Birr, Aaron Bosby, Jeremiah Blanchard, Jonathan Blakely, Joel Blinn, Solomon Bliss, Ambrose Booth, Bartholomew Bond, Seth Bond, William Bond, Samuel Bonney, Abel Branch, Asa Branch, John Branch, James Brattle, William Brattle, Oliver Brewster, Jonathan Britton, Daniel Brown, John Brown, John Brunt, Jonathan Bulkley, Daniel Burr, Oliver Burt, Thomas Burt, David Bush, George Butler, Jeremiah Butler.

Daniel Caldwell, Timothy Caldwell, John Cady, Phineas Cady, Warren Cady, William Cady, James Cahoon, Peleg Carlton, Reuben Carlton, Elshua Carter, Ezekiel Case, Jabez Chalker, Benjamin Chamberlin, Joseph Chamberlin, Joshua Chapel, Amaziah Chapin, Joseph Chapin, Ebenezer Chapman, Calvin Chessman, Timothy Childs, John Churchill, Bildad Clarke, David Clarke, Antony Cleazer, Euphalet Cobb, Calvin Coe, Benjamin Cogswell, Calvin Cogswell, Daniel Cogswell, Isaac Cogswell, Levi Cogswell, Luther Cogswell, Reuben Cogswell, Samuel Cogswell, Pateras Cole, William Collins, Joseph Colson, James D. Colt, Reuben Colton, George Conant, Moses Cook, Timothy Cook, John Corbin, Nicholas Cottetel, Joseph Cotton, Elijah Crane, Elijah Crofoot, Samuel Crofoot, Stephen Crofoot, Samuel Cross, R. Currier.

—Nathan Dart, Allen Davis, Edward Davis, Jonathan Davis, Nathaniel Davis, Samuel Davis, Thomas Davis, Joel Dean, Aaron Delano, Amos Delano, Nathaniel Delano, Benjamin Deming, John Deming, Noadiah Deming, John Drankis, Enoch Dewey, James DeWolf, Israel Dickinson, Joel Dickinson, Nathaniel Dickens, Benjamin Dimock, Shubael Dimock, Joshua Doane, Aaron Drake, William Drake, Calvin Dunham, David Darell.



Calvin Easton, James Easton, James Easton jr., Joseph Eason, Asariah Eggleston, Joseph Eldridge, James Elton, Joseph Elton, Elijah Ensign, Jacob Ensign.

John Fairfield, Joseph Fairfield, Nathaniel Fairfield, William Finn, Aaron Frost, Philip Foot, John Ford, William Ford, Stephen Fowler, Robert Francis, William Francis, Nathan French, Abraham Frost, Jonathan Fuller.

Benjamin Gallup, John Gardner, Joshua Gates, Samuel Garley, Phineas Gilbert, Benoni Gleason, Jacob Gleason, Jacob Gott, Ezra Gomer, Samuel Goodree, Caleb Goodrich, Charles Goodrich, Elizur Goodrich, Gideon Goodrich, Gileon Goodrich jr., Gilbert Goodrich, Jedediah Goodrich, Josiah Goodrich, Moses Goodrich, Zenas Goodrich, Jonathan Graves, Reuben Green, Gideon Gunn, Paul Gullford.

Ashbel Hale, Joseph Hale, Nathaniel Hale, Joseph Hall, Prince Hall, Warren Hall, Ichabod Hamblin, Joseph Hardy, Asahel Harrison, Joseph Harrison, Enoch Haskins, William Hatch, Abner Hathaway, Jeffrey Hazard, Aaron Hewett, Jonathan Hewett, Aaron Hickock, Asa Hill, Frederick Hill, Abiah Hinman, Adoniram Hinman, Enos Hinman, William Hinman, John Hitchins, Jonathan Hobby, John Hoffman, John Horsford, William Hostetter, Daniel Hubbard, James Hubbard, Paul Hubbard, Peter Hubbard, Thomas Hudson, Zaccheus Hulbur, Ebenezer Hutchinson, Paul Hutchinson, Charles Hyde.

Isaac Isaacs, David Ingersoll, Nathan Ingram.

John Jacobs, Jonah Jacobs, Josiah Jacobs, Elijah Janes, Heman Janes, William Janes, Thomas Jenks, David Johnson, Daniel Jones, Ephraim Jones, William Jones, John Jordan, Benjamin Judd, Uriah Judd.

Benjamin Keiler, Daniel Keiler, Ebenezer Keiler, Eliza Keiler, Ezra Keiler, Thomas Keiler, William Kileaid, John King, Thomas King, Martin Kingsbury.

Elijah Lamfear, William Lamson, Asahel Landers, William Lang, Jonathan Latimer, Jonathan Lee, James Lewis, John Lewis, Philip Lewis, Thomas Lewis, William Little, Woodbridge Little, David Loff, Daniel Loomis, Jonathan Loomis, Solomon Lothrop, Lemuel Ludington, Selah Lusk.

Seth Macomber, Solomon Martin, Enoch Mason, Patrick McGee, John McKnight, Thomas McKnight, John McLennon, Daniel Merrill, Ezekiel Merrill, Hosea Merrill, Ebenezer Merry, Samuel Merry, Gideon Messenger, Jedediah Messenger, Peter Messenger, Reuben Milburn, Abiahath Millard, Matthew Millard, Aaron Miller, Levi Miller, Oliver Miller, Timothy Miller, Thomas Miller, William Miller, William Milligan, Hugh Mitchell, Apollos Moore, John Moore, Joseph Moore, Jonathan Morey, Isaac Morse, Josiah Moseley.

Asa Narramore, Joshua Narramore, Seth Newell, Aaron Noble, David Noble, Ithamar Noble, James Noble, John Noble, Jonathan Noble, Luke Noble, Mark Noble, Moses Noble, Abram Northrup.

Daniel Olds, Anthony Oliver, Joel Osborn, Richard Osborn.

Linus Parker, Timothy Parker, Rufus Parmelee, Abijah Parks, John Parks, Nathan Parks, Thomas Parks, Abel Pearson, Israel Peck, James Peck, Benjamin Phelps, Elnathan Phelps, Israel Phelps, Joseph Phelps, Stephen Phelps, William Phelps, Nathan Phillips, Francis Plumer, Ebenezer Popponack, Joseph Potter, Nathaniel Porter, Joseph Price, Prince (negro).

George Randall, Daniel Rathbun, Jacob Rathbun, Reuben Rathbun, Valentine Rathbun, William Raymond, Isaac Reed, James Reed, Joseph Reed, John Reed, James Robbins, Joshua Robbins, Nathaniel Robbins, Nathan Robinson, Asariah







Root, Amos Root jr., Eli Root, Eli Root jr., Elijah Root, Ezekiel Root, Oliver Root, Roswell Root, Zenas Root, Daniel Rust.

Erastus Sacket, Solomon Sacket, William Scott, Joseph Sharp, Samuel Sherman, Palmer Sherman, Asa Silva, Joshua Simonds, Amos Smith, Ezekiel Smith, Henry Smith, Samuel Smith, Levi Snow, Ezekiel Somers, Andrew Spafford, James Spens, Samuel Spencer, Andrew Spofford, Calvin Sprague, Caleb Stanley, Frederick Stanley, William C. Stanley, Ezra Stearns, John Stearns, Josiah Stearns, Timothy Stearns, Benjamin Stevens, Joel Stevens, Charles Stewart, Ebenezer Stewart, Aaron Stiles, Asahel Stiles, Ephraim Stiles, Moses Stiles, Silas Stiles, Zebadiah Stiles, Ebenezer Stoddard, Israel Stoddard, Jonathan Stoddard, Joseph Stoddard, Paul Stoddard, Ethan Stone, Samuel Stratton, John Strong, King Strong, Ozem Strong, Watcham Strong.

Nathan Taggard, Josiah Talcott, David Taylor, James Taylor, Jonathan Taylor, Thomas Taylor, John Thing, John Thorpe, Theodore Tildes, Titus (Jaggon), Nathaniel Toby, Moses Tomplin, Nehemiah Tracy, Peter Tullard, Daniel Taggart, Paul Tupper, Simeon Tupper, Thomas Tupper, Uriel Tupper, Simon Tupper jr., Henry Tyler.

Caleb Wadhams, John Wait, Joel Walker, Michael Walkins, Jarnó Ward, Josiah Ward, David Warner, Nathan Warner, Jason Warren, Adonijah Waterman, Amos Welch, Joseph Welch, Nathaniel Welch, Roger Welch, Uriah Welch, Walter Welch, Daniel Weller, William Weller, David Wells, Stephen West, William West, Joaathon Weston, Ebenezer Wheedon, Samuel Wheedon, John Wheelwright, John White, David Wiley, Abiathar Willard, Elias Willard, Matthew Willard, Ebenezer Williams, Elias Williams, Oswald Williams, William Williams, Othniel Williamson, Shubael Wollison, John Wood, Asa Woodward, Rufus Woodman, William Woodward, Amos Woodruff, Ebenezer Wright, Jacob Wright, Jehiel Wright, John Wright, Jonathan Wright, Josiah Wright, Josiah Wright jr., Matthew Wright, Ozias Wright, Peter Wright, Titus Wright, William Wright.

#### RICHMOND.

John Bacon, William Banks, Alexander Barnard, David Beers, John Bemis, Comstock Betts, Samuel Brewer, Benjamin Britton, John Brown, Nathaniel Brown, William Brown, Freedom Burdick.

Simeon Carpenter, Joshua Chamberlain, Samuel Chamberlain, Amaziah Chapell, Joshua Chase, Asahel Chittenden, Nathan Cogswell, Reuben Cogswell, John Collins, Levi Cook, Pitman C. Cook, Elisha Crippens, Barnet Curn.

Nathan Dart.

Bethuel Finney, Ansel Fox, Hubbard Fox, Jeremiah Fuller.

James Olmstead Gates, John Garvey, David Gaston, Thomas Gaston, William Gaston, Richard Giddings, Samuel Goodrich, Isaiah Gray, John Gurney.

Jonathan Halley, Asa Hamblin, Abner Hand, Isaac Herrick, John Herrick, Seba Higley, Ambrose Hill, Arunah Hill, Elihu Hill, Frederick Hill, Sandrick Hill, Titus Hill, Titus Hill jr., Robert Hillock, Thomas Hillock, Elijah Hollister, Joseph Holly, Nathaniel Holly.

Benjamin Ingham.

Robert Kasson, Robert Knowlton.

William Long, James Lindsay, Jacob Luke, William Luke.

John Matthews, Ebenezer Martin, John McKelley, Isaac Merrick, Elisha



Miller, Jeremiah Miller, Joseph Miller, Stephen Möler, Richard Minor, Hugh Mitchell, Micah Mudgen.

Elijah Norton.

Joel Osborn, Thomas Osborn, Elishah Otis.

Asa Parmelee, Rufus Parmelee, Jacob Pettibone, Barzillai Phelps, Samuel Porter.

Joseph Raymond, William Raymond, Jacob Redington, Ishmael Richards, Robert Richards, James Riley, Edward Robinson, David Rochester, Zeas Root, Aaron Rowley, David Rowley, Moses Rowley, Richmond Rowley, Seth Rowley, Sylvester Rowley, Thomas Rowley.

Thomas Scott, Thomas Scott jr., William Skyles, Eben Smith, Thomas Smith (negro), Solomon Solomon, Stephen Squire, Jonathan Stoddard, Henry Taleage, George Tanner, Samuel Taylor, Isalah Tilden, Paul Topping, Daniel Tubbs.

Joseph Welch, Walter Welch, John Wilcox, David Williams, Frederick Williams, Ebenezer Williams, Thomas Williams, Gleason Wood.

## SANDSFIELD.

Darius Adams, John Adams, Moses Adams, Samuel Adams, Simon Adams, Zebediah Adams, Elibu Allen, Jonathan Allen, Noah Allen, Samuel Allen, John Arnold, Jonathan Arnold, Nicholas Ayrault.

William Baker, Reuben Barber, Jairus Barker, Oliver Barker, William Beckman, John Baxter, Levi Baxter, Nathaniel Bettis, Aaron Bickett, Amos Bosworth, Jaber Bosworth, John Bosworth, Jacob Brown, Obadiah Brown, Russell Brown, Simon Brown, John Bull, Luther Bull.

Joseph Canfield, Eldad Camp, Samuel Chamberlain, Ambrose Clark, Noah Cone, David Crane, Ebenezer Crittenden, William Crittenden.

Valentine Deforest, Andras Deming, John Deming, Oziel Deming, Prosser Deming, Simeon Deming, Solomon Deming, John Dodge, Nathaniel Bayly Dowd, Harwood Dunham.

Joseph Foot, Joseph French, Richard French, Simeon Fuller.

David Gates, William Garrison, Noadiah Gillet, Samuel Gilman, Caleb Gorton, Joseph Gleason, Henry Graham, Thomas Granger, Manis Griswold.

Francis Hale, Sylvanus Harris, Jacob Heath, Levi Heath, John Herring, Ephraim Hewett, Luke Hitchcock, Samuel Holding, Eliphalet Holman, Samuel Holman, Darius How, Jedimen Hubbard, Jonathan Hurlley.

Obadiah Johnson, Adonijah Jones, Benoni Jones, Ebenezer Jones, John Jones.

John Kidder, Charles Kilburn, Elisha Kilburn, Hezekiah Kilburn, Yark Kilburn, Joseph Kingsbury, Lemuel Kingsbury, Charles Knight.

Abijah Lee, William H. Lee, Ephraim Leonard, Elijah Loveland.

Samuel Maker, Asa Manly, Calvin Manly, Daniel Manly, Flavel Manly, William Manly, Ambrose Markham, Nathan Martin, Joseph Merrick, Drake Allen, Darius Morley, Moses Moss.

Luke Noble.

Elihu Parker, Benjamin Peirce, Lemuel Peirce, John Pickett, Valentine Prentiss, Henry Rednor, Timothy Robinson.

Abel Sage, Elias Sage, David Sage, Samuel Sage, Joel Sawyer, James Stewart, David Sears, Willard Sears, Ezra Shaw, Robert Simons, Asa Smith, Amos Smith, Benjamin Smith, Benjamin Smith 4th, David Smith, Ebenezer Smith, Eliphalet





Smith, Elisha Smith, Heman Smith, Joel Smith, John Smith, Joshua Smith, Matthew Smith, Nathan Smith, Nathaniel Smith, Samuel Smith, Simon Smith, Solomon Smith, William Smith, Moses Soule, Joseph Spalding, Uryah Spalding, Amos Spring, Henry Spring, Abner Squire, Ambrose Squire, John Stewart, Samuel Stillman, Daniel Stocking, Israel Stocking, Timothy Stocking, Samuel Sturdivant, Hoseah Sumner.

Ebenezer Temple, Elisha Terry, Marcus Torrey, Silas Tracy, Solon Truckolt, John Trumbull, Isaac Tucker.

Silas Underwood.

Ezra Walker, Gorham Walker, Isaac Walker, Omri Warner, Jesse Warner, Levi Warner, Jonathan Webster, Moses Weston, Joseph White, Nathan Whiting, Nathan Whitney, Abel Wilson, Joseph Woodworth, Simeon Woodworth, Simon Woodworth, Charles Wright.

#### SHEFFIELD.

John Abel, Joshua Adams, William Adams, Samuel Adams, Samsel Adderborn, Ephraim Alderman, Amos Allen, Ezra Allen, Elijah Alvord, Zenas Andrus, Abner Ashley, Daniel Ashley, Stephen Ashley, William Ashely, Jonathan Atwater, Andrew Austin, Bailey Austin, Elijah Austin, Joub Austin, Nathaniel Austin, Samuel Austin.

Elijeh Backus, Solomon Backus, Timothy Backus, Reuben Bacon, William Bacon, John Babcock, Eleazer Baker, Oliver Baker, David Baldwin, Nathaniel Baldwin, Samuel Baldwin, Solomon Barber, Ebenezer Barker, Peleg Barlow, Ara Barnes, David Barnes, Moses Barnes, Roswell Barnes, James Barnes, John Barstow, Daniel Bates, John Beal, Reuben Bement, Amos Benedict, Elijah Benedict, James Benedict, Caleb Benton, Jonathan Benton, James Berry, Samuel Bileliss, Ryal Bingham, Joshua Beardman, Samuel Bond, Joseph Bowen, Benjamin Braman, Isaac Brewster, Benjamin Bronson, Abel Buck, Josiah Bump, Seth Burgess, James Burnham, Thomas Burnham, James Burnett, Abraham Burrill, David Burris, Benjamin Burns, Asaiah Bush, Benjamin Bush, Caleb Bush, Daniel Bush, Moses Bush, Obadiah Bush, Charles Butler, Darius Butler, William Butler.

Aaron Callender, Abner Callender, David Callender, Joseph Callender, Nathaniel Callender, Reuben Callender, Silas Callender, Ephraim Case, Isaac Chappell, Joel Chatfield, Thomas Chipman, Timothy Chipman, Darius Chapp, Oliver Church, Joseph Churchill, Thomas Chouch, Daniel Clark, Reuben Clark, Moses Cleveland, Solomon Cleveland, Nathaniel Cogshall, Daniel Côt, William Colt, Samuel Cole, Zoon Combs, Joseph Cook, Solomon Cook, Joshua Cornell, John Cowles, Nathaniel Cowles, Timothy Cowles, Alpheus Crippen, Joseph Crippen, Samuel Crippen, Benjamin Culler, Jacob Curner, Samuel Curner, John Curtis, Jonathan Curtis, Solomon Curtis.

Samuel Davis, William Davy, Joseph Denslow, Ichabod Denmore, Hyatt Dewey, Paul Dewey, Stephen Dewey, Thomas Dexter, Joseph Dickinson, Thomas Dickinson, Abraham Dodge, John Downing, Roswell Downing, John Derby, David Dunham, Jeremiah Dunham, John Dunston, Jeremiah Durgey, William Dunsen, William Dwinell.

Josiah Eddy, Brian Eddy, Elias Eggleston, Moses Eggleston, Benjamin Eggleston, Amos Eldridge, Arthur Ellworth, Charles Ellis, Isakel Eldridge, Elisha Ewigs, jr., Nathan Evans, Ebenezer Evans, Samuel Evans.

Aaron Fairchild, Daniel Fairchild, Moses Fairchild, Zedekiah Fairchild, Aaron Fairfield, Samuel Farrer, William Fellows, Samuel Fellows, John Fellows, David Ferry, John Ferrý, Joseph Ferry, Samuel Ferry, jr., Bethuel Finney, Billy Fish, Jonathan



Fitch, George Foot, Elisha Forbes, John Forrest, William Forrest, John Fowenty, Jeremiah Fox, Isaac Foxbury, Levi Francis, Abner Freeman, Ely Freeman, Jonathan Freeman, Philip Freeman, Joseph French, Benjamin Fuller, Lot Fuller, Samuel Fuller.

Josiah Gaines, Jude Gaines, William Gaines, Nathaniel Gilbert, Amos Gilb, John Gipson, Benoni Gleason, Joseph Goodrich, Silas Goodrich, Wm Goodrich, William Goodrich, Zachariah Goodrich, Anthony Goodspeed, John Grant, Joshua Green, Benjamin Griswold, Aaron Gunn, Alexander Gunn, Hezekiah Gunn, Noble Gunn, Samuel Guthridge, Guy (negro).

Ebenezer Hall, Jonathan Hall, Moses Hall, Robert Hamble, Francis Hart, John Harmon, Joseph Harmon, Samuel Harmon, Uriah Harmon, John Harrington, Israel Harris, Oziel Hatch, Samuel Hatch, William Hatcher, Epitium Harbeck, John Hewitt, Nathaniel Hewitt, Thomas Hewitt, Darling Hickok, David Hickok, James Hickok, Jeremiah Hickok, Daniel Higbee, Benjamin Hinman, Benjamin Hinman, jr., Jonathan Holcomb, Matthew Holcomb, Pliny Holcomb, Roger Holcomb, Asa Holmes, John Holmes, Abraham Hollenbeck, Jesse Hooker, Stephen Hookins, Samuel Horsford, Ezra Horton, John Horton jr., Moses Horton, Asa Haskins, Darius Howe, Perley Howe, Solomon Howe, Hooker Hubbard, Humphrey Hubbard (negro), John Hubbard, Jonathan Hubbard, Moses Hubbard, Noddish Hubbard, Noah Hubbard, Ithamar Hubbell, John Hubbell, John Huggins, Joseph Huggins, Nathaniel Huggins, Cornelius Hukmuk, Israel Humphrey, Elisha Harbut, Theophilus Hyde.

Reuben Jackson, Adonijah Jacobs, Richard Jacobs, John Japkins, Thomas Jeffers, Levi Jerome, Samuel Jerome, Daniel Johnson, Guy Johnson, Henry Johnson, William Johnson, Nehemiah Jones, Linsey Joslin, Samuel Joslin, Samuel Joy.

Asa Kellogg, Ebenezer Kellogg, Elijah Kellogg, Enos Kellogg, Ezekiel Kellogg, Ezra Kellogg, Jason Kellogg, Jesse Kellogg, Joel Kellogg, Nehemiah Kellogg, Nath Kellogg, Oziel Kellogg, Pliny Kellogg, Reuben Kellogg, Silas Kellogg, Benjamin Keyes, Charles Keyes, Henry Keyes, Aaron King, Charles King, Gideon King, Samuel Kingman, Abraham Kunkopot, John Kunkopot.

Isaac Labereon, John Lawrence, George Leonard, Robert Lindsay, Seth Lindsay, Samuel Littleman, Andrew Loomis, Benjamin Loomis, Daniel Loomis, Phineas Loomis, Zadock Loomis, Samuel Lord.

William Manly, Martin Marble, Samuel Marston, Samuel Martin, Daniel Matthews, Grove Mace, George Messenger, Nehemiah Messenger, William McArthur, William McGerdy, Aaron Miller, Newbury Miller, Oliver Miller, Stephen Mills, Amasa Mitchell, Amos Mitchell, Nash Mitchell, Zebulon Mix, Abner Moley, Nathaniel Moore, Eleazer Morris, John Moses, John Mykaen, Justus Mann.

Josiah Nash, David Naunaunck, Benjamin Newton, David Nexinaukhat, John Nichols, Jonathan Nichols, Isaac Niham, Caleb Noble, Caleb Noble jr., Enoch Noble, Ezekiel Noble, Hezekiah Noble, Jeremiah Noble, Luke Noble, Matthew Noble, Obadiah Noble, Oliver Noble, Peter Noble, Roger Noble, Salmon Noble, Jacob Nativrop, Joel Northrop, Jacob Nounahtonk.

John Ogden, Joseph Orcutt, Peter Orcutt, Gildart Olds, John Olds, Thomas Olds, James Orcutt, Moses Orcutt, Hezekiah Osgood, John Owen, Joseph Owen, Nathaniel Owen, Samuel Owen.

Daniel Parker, Giles Parker, Jacob Parks, Daniel Parmeter, Thaxter Parmeter, Uriah Parmeter, Daniel Patton, John Peirce, Jeremiah Phelps, Jonah Peley, James Gideon Post, Joseph Powel, Isaac Preston, Benjamin Pye.







John Raymond, Abner Rice, Phineas Rice, Aaron Roberts, James Robinson, Asa Root, Nary Root, Abraham Root, Aaron Root, Aaron Root jr., Abisha Root, James Root, Martin Root, Stephen Root, Thaddeus Root, William Root, John Rowley, Jesse Royce, Moses Royce, Phineas Royce, John Rowell, John Ryan.

King Sackett, John Sanders, Billings Savage, Roger Savage, Frederick Saxton, John Saxton, William Saxton, Eleazer Scott, Jonathan Scott, Thomas Scott, Ezekiel Seegar, Hendrick Seekbeck, William Seymour, Nathaniel Shaw, Whiting Sheldon, William Sheldon, Ephraim Shedd, Samuel Sherwood, John Sickle, Aaron Sline, Lemuel Slate, Ebenezer Smith, Elisha Smith, Joel Smith, Lot Smith, Noble Smith, Pliny Smith, William Smith, Benjamin Spaulding, Deliverance Spaulding, Jonathan Spaulding, Theophilus Spaulding, Zachariah Spaulding, Zebulon Spaulding, James Spears, Abraham Spoor, Abraham Spoor jr., David Spoor, Derick Spoor, Isaac Spoor, John Spoor, Joseph Start, Zaccheus Stears, Ebenezer Stevens, Nehemiah Stevens, James Storm (negro), Gustavus Staughton.

Aaron Taylor, Daniel Taylor, George Taylor, Phineas Taylor, Poinas Taylor jr., Samuel Taylor, Eli Terry, Nicholas Terriner, Moses Thonckhock, Michael Thornton, Thomas Tilden, Peter Toupaupret, David Tracy, Ebenezer Tremont, Jonathan Trescott, Samuel Trescott, Seth Trescott, Thomas Trescott, James Trowbridge, David Tullar, Daniel Tullar, Stephen Tuttle.

Silas Underwood, Joseph Ujesub.

Eliakim Vosburgh, Isaac Vosburgh.

John Wainwright, David Walker, William Walker, Benoni Warren, Jacob Warren, Francis Warne, Benajah Warner, Jesse Warner, Samuel Warner, Michael Warren, Michael Watkins, Abram Wells, William West, Jacob Westover, John Westover, Moses Westover, Nathaniel Westover, Cornelius Wheruppuak, Deborah Willard, Lewis Willard, Hezekiah Winchell, Joseph Winchell, Joseph Winchell jr., Timothy Winchell, Prince Winslow, Joshua Whitum, Isaac Wnapurek, Oliver Woodin, Nathan Woodward, Ralph Woolman, Benjamin Wright, Oliver Wright.

#### STOCKBRIDGE.

Elijah Alden, Jonas Allen, Joseph Allen, Asa Amrus, Christopher Andrus, Moses Atkins.

William Baker, Benjamin Baldwin, Daniel Ball, Isaac Ball, John Ball, Joseph Ball, Samuel Barlow, Phineas Barnes, Roswell Barnes, Moses Barnum, Thomas Benedict, William Benjamin, Nehemiah Benner, Isaac Benner, Nathaniel Benner, Elkanah Bishop, Azur Blackman, Hezekiah Boughton, Nathan Boughton, James Boyley, Caleb Boynton, Caleb Boynton jr., Samuel Boynton, Elisha Bradley, Jared Bradley, Josiah Bradley, Lint Bradley, Joel Bristol, Moses Bristol, Artemus Brooking, Alexander Brown, Stephen Brown, Peter Buck, Josiah Bashnell, Charles Butter, Samuel Byington.

Matthew Cadwell, Abner Carpenter, William Carpenter, Reuben Cary, Carpenter Chaffee, Moses Charles, Richard Cheney, Joseph Chenequani, Daniel Churchill, William Cole, Ebenezer Cook, Jacob Coqut, Jesse Clark, John Clark, Jonathan Crocker, Joseph Crocker, Abel Curtis, Elnathan Curtis jr., Enos Curtis, Isaac Curtis, Joel Curtis, Nathan Curtis, John Cuskus.

Peter Dago, Isaac Davis, Edward Deim, Nathan Davis, Samuel Deim, Abner Day, John Dean, Joseph Dean, Eleazer Deming, Abner Dewey, Aaron Deussen, Rufus Dewey, Joel Dickerman, Jonah Dix, Jeremiah Donnelly, Robert Donnelly, Augustus Drake, Frank Duncan, Matthias Dunham.



Samuel Edwards, Isaac Esops, Judith Evans.

Robert Faulkner, Joshua Finch, Solomon Finney, Fennet Frost, John Foot, Enoch Fortune, Elphalest Fowler, Nathaniel French.

John Gaines, Abel Galpin, Callet Galpin, George Gardner, Elisha Giddert, Peter E. Glin, William Goodrich, John Godfrey, John Goss, Gershom Graham, Elisha Grant, Ephraim Grant, John Gregson, Ezekiel Griswold.

Agrippa Hall, Eliahim Hamilton, John Hamilton, Oliver Haubert, Benjamin Handy, Abel Hart, Jabez Hart, John Hart, Meletiah Harts, Samuel Harts, Thomas Hekamon, Edward Higbee, Elijah Higbee, Ebenhan Higbee, William Hilde, Samuel Holly, William Holly, Jesse Hosket, John Horst, David Hubbard, Arver Huggins, Agrippa Hull.

Nehemiah Ide, David Ingersoll, Francis Ingemoll, Jared Ingemoll.

Will Jacobs, John James, Samuel Jerome, Timothy Jerome, Edward Johnson, Orrin Johnson, Elijah Johnson, Joseph Jones, Robert Jones, Solomon Jones, Ozias Judd.

Moses Kelly, Benjamin Kankewenlinant, Jacob Kankaupt, Joshua Ketcham, Edmund Kingsland, Abraham Kunkaput, Daniel Knapp.

William Langsbury, David Levake, Nathan Lewis, William Liversy, Samuel Littleman, John Lynch.

Joseph Mansfield, Theophilus Mansfield, Ebenezer Maunoseet, Asa Markham, Benjamin Metackman, Isaac Marsh, Shepard Martindale, Stephen Martindale, Ebenezer Maunauseet, William McLean, Andrew Melrose, Eliza M. Mills, Aaron Mills, Hendrick Minpaumut, David Mitchell, Elisha Mitchell, Phineas Morgan, Jehoiakim Metocksin, Cato Mumford, Job L. Munson.

Joseph Nash, Moses Nash, David Nauneeikut, Abram Naunaumptonky, Abner Naunkauwat, David Naunawneekannuck, Jehoiakim Naunaumptonky, Daniel Ninham, John Ninham, William Notonksin, William Notouksin jr., Benjamin Notux, Thomas Northrop.

William Oliver, Alexander Osborn, William Osborn, Ebenezer Oviatt.

David Palmer, Francis Paine, Reuben Parker, George Parkhurst, Cornelius Paupaumham, Jub. Pautauruanket, Eliphalet Parsons, Stephen Pearl, John Percival, Reuben Perkins, Daniel Perry, William Perry, Asa Pixley, David Pixley, Daniel Phelps, Eli Phelps, Jacob Phelps, Jacob Pohtouwanpeet, Jared Pond, Silas Pond, Nathaniel Porter, Samuel Prindle, Festus Prince.

James Quamhos.

Richard Ranney, Jonathan Rawson, Simeon Rawson, Amos Reed, Josiah Reed, Phineas Rice, Samuel Rice, Daniel Ricket, Abner Rockwell, Josiah Root.

Henry Sample, Aaron Sausonkhok, Ezekiel Segur, Ira Seymour, Hendrick Sheakhakkawoh, Aaron Sheldon, John Shepaulweezuk, David Slosson, John Smith, Nicholas Smith, Sarson Smith, John Sprang, Samuel Squintoop, Daniel Stevens, Barnabas Stevens, William Still, Nathan St. John, Justus St. John, Samuel St. John, Thaddeus St. John, John Stockbridge, Orrin Stoddard, Luther Stone, Ephraim Stoughton, Horatio Strong.

Charles Taylor, Ephraim Taylor, Oliver Thomas, Robert Train, John Tucker, Jacob Tusnuek, James Tuttle, Benajah Tyler, Benijah Tyler.

Hendrick Umpaumut.

Richard Vining.

Nathaniel Walker, Nicholas Ward, Zulu Watson, Andrew Wauwauwauwau.





Waupeck, Timothy Wautonquist, Andrew Wauwanksee, Daniel Wauwanksee, naunt, Hendrick Wautaukanwoh, Daniel Wauwankman, Isaac Wauwanksee, Andrew West, Daniel West, Levi West, Ichabod Wheeden, William Whippley, Robert Whitney, Samuel Whitney, Ezra Whittlesey, Samuel Whittlesey, Peter Wilketham, Daniel Wilcox, Asa Williams, Elijah Williams, Stephen Williams, Thomas Williams, Benjamin Wilson, Elijah Wilson, Thomas Wind, William Woodbridge, Samuel Wright.

Timothy Youkin, Nathaniel Young.

#### TYRINGHAM.

Nathan Abbott, Jacob Achor, Asa Allen, Nathan Allen.

William Baker, Ehiel Battle, Justus Battle, Niles Battle, Eliza Bentley, John Bentley, Lebbeus Bentley, Thomas Bentley, Justin Betts, Admoniah Bolwell, Amos Bird, Joseph Bird, Joseph Bird jr., Moses Bird, Isaac Black, Nathaniel Black, John Brewer, Joseph Brewer, Nathaniel Brewer, William Brooks, Nicholas Buckley, Josiah Bushnell.

Caleb Chadwick, Ebenezer Chadwick, John Chadwick, John Chadwick jr., Jonathan Chapin, Joseph Chapin, Paul Chapin, John Clark, Patrick Colburn, Abraham Collins, Matthew Cooper, Nathaniel Culver, Solomon Culver, Amasa Curtis, Amos Curtis.

Thomas Danforth, Burnet Davenport, Elisha Dawley, Zebediah Dewey, Benjamin Dike, Jonathan Dike, Phineas Dodge, Matthew Dunham.

Isaac Finck, Cato Fortune, Parley Foster, Fortune Freeman, Peter Fuller.

Daniel Garfield, Enoch Garfield, Solomon Guffield, Israel Gilbert, Samuel Groat, Thomas Groaton, Joseph Dayton Greene.

Nathan Hale, Nathaniel Hale, Parker Hall, Praisad Hall, Simeon Hall, Thomas Hall, Abijah Heath, Benjamin Heath, Isaac Heath, Isaac Heath jr., Joseph Heath, Ezekiel Herrick, Henry Herrick, Hezekiah Herrick, John Herrick, Thomas Hissock, Emanuel Hodgett, Samuel Hodgett, Elijah Holt, Daniel How, John Hulet, Sylvanus Hulet.

Giles Jackson, Solomon Jackson, Elam Jewett, Darius Joslin, Gideon Joslin, Hezekiah Joslin, John Joslin, Willard Joslin, Oliver Judd.

Samuel Kibbe, James King, Zachariah Knight, Abner Knowlton.

Amos Lankton, Martin Lankton, Seth Lankton, John Little.

Abijah Markham, Daniel Markham, William Markham, Abijah Merrill, Caleb Merrill, Samuel Millington, Asaph Morse, Seth Morse.

Daniel North, Amos Northrop.

Azariah Orton, David Orton, Roger Orton, William Osborn.

Joshua Parrish, John Park, Matthias Park, William Posey.

John Ramsdell, Edmund Rathbone, Ebenezer Rewry, John Rhodys, Amos Rice, Ebenezer Rockwood, Reuben Rockwood, Daniel Robinson, Samuel Root.

Joseph Sherdon, Joseph Sibley, Giles Slaughter, Henry Smith, Benjamin Spink, Ishmael Spink, Job Spink, Ebenezer Spink, John Stearn, William Stewart.

David Talcott, Parker Talcott, Elisha Taylor, Noah Thomas, Joseph Tillotson.

Wait Upham.

Samuel Wadsworth, Joel Walker, Benjamin Warner, Noah Warren, Noah Warren, Amariah Wheelock, Ithamar Wheelock, Levi Wheelock, Obediah Wheelock, Joseph Wilson.



## WASHINGTON (Hartwood).

James Allen, Justus Allen, Moses Ashley.  
 Amos Beard, Aaron Bixby, Silas Blinn, Peter Brown.  
 Thomas Chadwick, John Chaplin, Joseph Chaplin, Timothy Cole, Adam St.  
 George Collins.  
 Harvey Ensign.  
 Frederick Frost.  
 Ithamar Granger, Thomas Granger.  
 Ebenezer Handy.  
 Joseph Isham, John Ingraham, Samuel Ingraham.  
 Jonathan Lynder.  
 Abel Mattoon, Patrick McGee, Robert McKnight, Peter Moore, John Motte.  
 James Penrown.  
 Daniel Shaw, Samuel Sherman, George Sloan, John Stewart, John Sweeney.  
 Isaac Tillotson.  
 John Wade, Stephen Warren, William Wilson.

## WEST STOCKBRIDGE.

John Allen, Elias Armstrong, Josiah Arnold.  
 Nathan Baker, Daniel Ball, Lemuel Barnes, Silas Barnes, Thomas Barnes.  
 Nathan Benedict, Felix Benton, Buler Buel.  
 Zebedee F. Cook.  
 Jeduthan Dickinson, Augustus Drake, William Drake, Frank Duncan.  
 Nathan Griffith.  
 Joseph Hull, Warren Hull, Israel Humphrey, David Hutchinson.  
 Artemas Ingersoll, Francis Ingersoll.  
 William Jacobs, Jabez Josselyn.  
 Nicholas Louke, John Lynch.  
 John Mack, Andrew Messenger, Charles Morris, David Mudge, John Mudge.  
 Boris Nettleton.  
 David Palmer, Ebenezer Pettit, John Pettit.  
 Jonathan Rawson, Nathaniel Rawson, Thomas Rogers.  
 Daniel Stevens, Jeremiah Stevens, William Stevens, Jesse Stokeham.  
 Benjamin Towsey.  
 Heman Watson, William West, Elisha Woodruff, Shubael Woodruff.

## WILLIAMSTOWN.

Jeremiah Allen, John Dix Allen, Simeon Allen, James Andrews, Jonathan Arnold, David Ashley.  
 Edward Bacon, Joseph Bairds, Absolom Baker, Ira Baker, John Barnes, Oliver Barrett, David Baxter, Benjamin Bennett, Ezekiel Blair, Theodore Boardman, Joseph Bowdich, Cary Briggs, Josiah Brown, Daniel Burbank, Samuel Butchard, Jesse Byam, Joel Byam.  
 Ebenezer Cahoon, William Cahoon, Caleb Calkins, Aaron Cannyn, Joseph Cary, Nathan Cartwright, Timothy Chase, Jonathan Chidester, Ezra Church, Rowland Carpenter, Abijah Clark, Daniel Clark, Eliam Clark, John Clark, Zadock Clark, Asa Clothier, Samuel Cong, Joseph Corbin, Job Cotton or Collon, Joseph Crofoot, Charles Crofoot, Isaac Cummins.





Sterling Daniels, Jonathan Danforth, Joshua Danforth, Benjamin Davis, John Day, Titus Deming, John Dougherty, David Downing, John Downing, Matthew Dunning.

Griffin Eldridge.

John Fillemore, Elijah Flint, William Forsyth, Stephen Fountain, Andrew Fox, Asa French.

Thomas Gage, Jacob Galusha, Thomas Galusha, James Ganney, Joshua Gardner, Elisha Gilbert, James Giles, Samuel Giles, William Gould, Cato Greger (negro), John Grinman, Asa Guill.

Solomon Hakes, Jonathan Hall, Timothy Hall, John Hand, Josiah Higgins, Cyrus Hill, Nathan Hill, Elnathan Holmes, Seth Holmes, Benjamin Holton, Thomas Houston, Timothy Hurlbut, Ebenezer Hutchinson.

David Jackson, Moses Jeffries, Barachiah Johnson, Comfort Johnson, Daniel Johnson, David Johnson, Henry Johnson, Ozias Johnson.

Nathaniel Kellogg, James Kilburn, Daniel Kinney.

Caleb Lamb, Elijah Lamb, Israel Lamb, Simon Larned, James Latimer, Moses Lee, Anthony Lemon, Archelaus Luce, Thomas Lyon.

William Manning, Lawrence McCloth, Cyrus Markhill, James McMaster, James McMichael, Abraham Meacham, Isaac Meacham, Jacob Meacham, Oliver Miller, Samuel Mills, Abel Morehouse, Jonathan Morey, Solomon Morse, John Murphy.

John Nichols, Josiah Northrup.

Jabez Olmsted, Jeremiah Osborn, Joseph Osborn.

Daniel Parish, John Parker, David Parkhill, William Peet, David Perrigo, Almer Perry, Rowland Potter, Benjamin Reynolds, John Raymond, Zuriel Raymond, Elijah Rich, Israel Rich, Moses Rich, Ard Roberts, Ira Rood, William Royce, John Rusby, Sylvester Russell.

Charles Sabin, Zebediah Sabin, Robert Sadler, Ephraim Sandford, Robert Saunders, Jesse Saxton, Amos Sherman, Stiles Sherman, Stephen Sherwood, Timothy Sherwood, Benjamin Skinner, Thompson J. Skinner, Alexander Sloan, James Sloan, Samuel Sloan, Jedediah Smedley, John Smedley, Joshua Smedley, Levi Smedley, Lemuel Smith, Nathan Smith, Simeon Smith, Timothy Smith, David Southwick, Lemuel Southwick, Wright Spaulding, Alexander Spencer, Jesse Spencer, William Spencer, Stephen Squires, Pardon Stark, Lewis Stebbins, Hamabas Stevens, David Stratton, John Stratton, Jonathan Sweet.

Ishmael Thomas, Joseph Thompson, Nathaniel Tiffords, John Tooley, John Torrey, Nathaniel B. Torrey, William Torrey, David Town, Edmund Town, James Trask, Caleb Tree, John Tree, John Trotter, Hezekiah Tuttle, Ahaziel Turret, Samuel Tyler.

Cornelius Van Kier.

Timothy Watson, George Weaver, Samuel Welch, James Wells, Samuel Wells, David Wheeler, Joseph Wheeler, Nathan Wheeler, David Whitman, Joseph Whitney, Henry Wilcox, Samuel Wilcox, Lewis Wilkins, Elisha Williams, Justus Winchell, Aaron Wood, Bartholomew Woodcock, Aaron Wright, Calvin Wright, Elias Wright, Luther Wright, David Wrightman.

William Young.

#### WINDSOR.

John Abbey, Abram Adams, Benjamin Adams, Joseph Adams, Samuel Adams, Samuel Addition, Josiah Alvord, James Angel, Roswell Avery.



David Bacon, Samuel Baldwin, Jonathan Bancroft, William Bancroft, Josiah Beals, Thomas Biddlecom, William Biddlecom, Charles Billany, Ebenezer Blanchard, Charles Bodingley, John Burrows, Samuel Bradford, Allen Briggs, Ebenezer Briggs, Benjamin Briggs, Daniel Brown, Dexter Brown, Eleazer Brown, John Brown, Luther Brown, Obadiah Brown, Simeon Brown, William Brown, Christopher Buckingham, Oliver Buttrick, Jesse Bussey, Thomas Bussey.

Francis Cabot, Phineas Cady, William Cady, Martin Calk, Joseph Chapel, William Charlow, Elijah Clark, William Clark, Jedediah Cleveland, Samuel Cofford, Ebenezer Clough, Benjamin Cole, John Cole, Philip Cole, Nathaniel Coleman, Eli Collins, Amasa Converse, Asa Converse, Benjamin Converse, Eliza Cowan, Joseph Cowan, Stephen Cowan.

Joseph Daniels, Francis Dodge, James Dodge, Rufus Dodge, Abraham Dick.

Amos Eddy, Andrew Eddy, James Eddy, Reuben Eddy, Samuel Eddy, Andrew Edmonds, Jeremiah Edwards, Daniel Eldridge.

Charles Filsher, Michael Filsher, Jedediah Fuller, John Fuller.

James Glass, Rufus Glass, John Gleason, Moses Gleason, Moses Gleason jr., Wait Goodrich, Theophilus Graves, Henry Green, Hazeckiah Green, Joseph Green, Joseph Green jr., Lester Grosvenor, Resolved Grosvenor, Theophilus Grosvenor.

Alpheus Hall, Asa Hall, Daniel Hall, Levi Hanks, Jason Harwood or Heywood, Nathan Harwood, Oliver Harwood, William Hatfield, William Hatfield jr., John Hill, Ebenezer Howard, Francis Howard, Charles Hutchins, Lebbeus Hutchins, Noah Hutchins.

Abel Janes (or James), James Janes, Joseph Jenkins, Amos Jones, John Jones, Thomas Joy.

Andrew Kennedy, Jacob Kennedy, Seth Kennedy, Elias Kingstrey.

Nathaniel Lamberton, Elijah Lanfear, Ezra Lanfear, John Lanfear, Salmon Larned, Joseph Lawrence, Josiah Lawrence, Jonathan Lee, Jesse Leonard, Arnold Lewis, Jacob Lyon, Peleteah Lyon.

Timothy Mason, David Miller, John Mills, Zebediah Morse, John Muscroft.

Francis Norwood.

Cornelius Parker, David Parker, Michael Palmer, Hovey Parsons, Joseph Pease, Oliver Peirce, William Perrin, Elijah Phelps, Elisha Phillips, Amos Preston or Preusser, David Prince, Samuel Prince, Timothy Puffer.

Gideon Randall, Abner Rawson, Jeremiah Reed, Joshua Reed, Obadiah Reed, William Reed, John Ridget, Joseph Riley, Samuel Roberts, Denton Robins, Elisha Robins, Eleazer Roos, Ezekiel Roos, Joseph Root or Roos, William Russell.

Daniel Sabin, Elisha Safford, John Safford, Josiah Safford, Ezra Sampson, Levi Sampson, Willard Shepard, Cornelius Smith, Ebenezer Smith, Elisha Smith, William Smith, Jabez Spaulding, Jesse Spaulding, Simeon Spaulding, David Spenser, Theodore Sprague, Cornelius Syler, Samuel Stafford, Abel Stevens, John Stevens, Joseph Stevens, Samuel Stoddard, John Street.

Lyman Taft, Amos Thayer, Levi Thompson, Robert Thompson, Henry Tibbets, Timothy Topliff, Luther Topliff, John Torry, Nathaniel B. Torry, Joseph Town, David Tracy, Lemuel Tracy, Nathaniel Tracy, Solomon Tracy, Jonathan Trupler.

Benjamin Wakefield, Daniel Walker, David Walker, Joseph Walker, Robert Walker, Stephen Walker, John Wallace, Ishmael Warren, Stephen Warren, Maria Watkins, Samuel Wells, Stephen Westcott, Daniel White, Nathaniel White, Sylvanus Winter. — (Igham Williams letters offered), Daniel Woodward, Jesse Woodward, Sylvanus Woodward, Asahel Wright.

Dyer Young.





## CHAPTER XI.

### CONSTITUTIONALISTS OF BERKSHIRE AND THE SHAYS REBELLION.

#### THE CONSTITUTIONALISTS.

IN 1774, after the people of Berkshire county had become fully aware of the dangers which threatened their liberties under the perverted charter then in existence, and under the tyrannical laws that had been enacted, they resolved that no court should be held in the county. Accordingly, on the day appointed for the sitting of the court, they assembled at Great Barrington to the number of 1,500, unarmed, and so completely filled the court house and the passages to it that, on the arrival of the judges, they found it impossible to enter, and the people obstinately refused to make way for them. The example thus set in Berkshire was followed elsewhere, and the courts were obstructed throughout the province, except where they sat under the protection of royal troops. This was the first example of the suppression of the King's Court.

From the summer of 1775 till the adoption of the constitution, in 1780, a party composed of a large majority of the people in Berkshire, under the acknowledged leadership of Rev. Thomas Allen, of Pittsfield, ruled the county in open resistance, so far as civil government was concerned, to the authority set up at Boston.

The political status of Berkshire during all that time was entirely anomalous. The nearest parallel which history affords is found in the opposition of those feudal barons who acknowledged an obligation to support their sovereign in his foreign wars, while maintaining against him their own assumed rights of internal government. In like manner the people of Berkshire, while for more than five years refusing to admit the civil administration of the State within their limits, granted it military aid by a more prompt and liberal contribution of men than any other county, paid their taxes as readily as the circumstances of a community on an impoverished and disturbed frontier permitted, and sent their representatives to the General Court, in which, however, they recognised powers more limited and temporary than that body claimed. Unsurpassed in their devotion to the cause of national independence, they re-



sponded with ardor to every call made on them in that behalf; but, not less earnest in their desire for constitutional liberty at home, they believed it insecure if any State government capable of perpetuating itself should be erected, except on the basis of a constitution and bill of rights established by the express consent of a majority of the people. So thorough were their convictions on this point, and so essential did they deem these guarantees of civil and personal liberty that, in order to obtain them, they resorted to measures justifiable only in the last resort, and "utterly refused the admission of the course of law among them" until their demands were complied with.

The charters which Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island received from Charles the First invested all alike, as to their internal affairs, with almost the rights of independent States. In Rhode Island and Connecticut these rights had been retained, but the charter of Massachusetts, annulled in the reign of Charles the Second, had, in 1692, been replaced by a substitute obtained from William and Mary, so modified that many of the important privileges granted by the former were lost to the colony. This had led to the suspension of the civil government in 1774, and when, in 1775, rebellion against royal authority began to take definite shape, it was proposed to restore the civil government on the basis of the defective and discordant charter of King William. Against this restoration a very large majority of the people in Berkshire were firmly set. They had read the essays of advanced thinkers on theories of government, and had discussed with each other the situation in which they found themselves, and the remedies for the evils by which they were surrounded. They had listened to the clear logic of Mr. Allen, who had adopted the opinions of that school which enunciated the democratic doctrines afterward championed in a more perfect form by Thomas Jefferson, and they were prepared to resist the restoration in the county of civil government under the strange device which the Continental Congress had evolved from the provincial charter. The fundamental dogma of this party was that political power can only rightfully be derived from the express consent of the people; that the charter government, itself but a mitigated usurpation, having been abrogated, the province relapsed into a state of nature, from which it could rightfully emerge only through the establishment of a constitution and bill of rights by the free vote of a majority of the people; that, antecedent to this, the only authority which ought to be submitted to should be, from its merely advisory character, incapable of making itself permanent.

Under these circumstances, and with these views, the people of Berkshire continued to ignore the judicial authority derived from the Provincial Congress, while they admitted its advisory authority in other matters. They responded with promptness and alacrity to the demands made by the military board, and sent representatives to the General Court, which they recognized as the only power that could carry on the war, or take the initiative in establishing government on a rightful basis. They dis-





pensed with the judiciary, however, and declared that "the people of the county, under the lenient and efficient rule of their several committees, and in the most vigorous and unremitting exertions in the country's cause, had lived together in the greatest love, peace, safety, liberty, happiness, and good order, except the disorders and dissensions occasioned by the tories."

The judicial system which had been imposed on the people was cumbrous, expensive, and oppressive; and probably the grievousness of the burden which the people bore, led them to favor resistance before the abstract principles which justified that resistance had been much considered by the masses.

It is well to bear in mind the fact that particular abuses were attacked, not only to secure their own removal, but for the purpose of overthrowing a faulty whole of which they were the most vulnerable parts. The great principles which their proceedings tended to establish were kept in view, and in their minds the ideas of national independence and constitutional liberty advanced with equal pace. While they regarded the destruction of British dominion over the colony as certain, they feared a disposition on the part of the General Court to build on the undermined foundation of the old system, and with the rotten material of the provincial ruins, a super-structure similar to that which was crumbling away.

Under the lead of Mr. Allen they maintained their position with a dignified firmness. The ordinary channels of justice, obstructed as they were when the king's judges were crowded from their seats at Great Barrington in 1774, were not reopened until the reorganization of the judiciary under the constitution of 1780; so that for six years no courts were held in the county. During the interregnum the local authorities preserved public order, and restrained crimes against person and property, not perfectly, but better than was to be expected. The absence of civil tribunals was less of a misfortune than it would have been in regions with more complicated commercial relations.

In 1777 the Provincial Legislature framed a draft of a constitution which was submitted to the people in March, 1778, and was rejected. No bill of rights accompanied this proposed constitution. Pending the framing of this draft an appeal was made by the General Court to the counties to admit the courts. This the county of Berkshire by a very decided majority refused to do. An act of pardon and oblivion for the violations of law in resisting the courts was passed, but, as elsewhere stated, this pardon was refused in this county. The question of a convention to frame a constitution was submitted to the people of the State, who decided in favor of such convention, which met on the 1st of September, 1779; and the result of its labors was a bill of rights and constitution which were ratified by the people in May, 1780.

It has been said that "tolerable order was maintained" during the interregnum of the courts. This was done by the Revolutionary committees, who regulated criminal, and, to some extent, civil affairs.



## THE SHAYS REBELLION.

Prior to the termination of the Revolution there had arisen in Massachusetts a feeling of discontent that a few years later ripened into a disgraceful rebellion. The currency of the country was greatly depreciated, the expenses of the war had necessitated rigid taxation, public and private indebtedness weighed heavily on the people, and the harshness with which, by law and by custom, debts and taxes were then collected operated to bring about this discontent and its deplorable results.

The acts in which the people manifested their feelings and sought redress from their grievances were the results of a false interpretation of precedent, and of the crude political knowledge of men who perceived clearly what the experience of every day taught them, that they and their fellows were harshly dealt with, yet who had not learned to trace effects to their causes with statesman-like sagacity, and who did not comprehend that the same means which, in default of better, are legitimate for the overthrow of an oppressive government become heinous offenses when applied to the reform of even oppressive laws under the plastic institutions of a republic.

The financial situation of the commonwealth was indeed most distressing, and such as, even in the most hopeful view, could find no perfect relief except in long years of toil endured by its people under the depressing influences of debt and enormous taxation. It seemed inevitable that the greater portion of the generation then living must go down to their graves in poverty, leaving the same bitter heritage to their children.

In addition to the debt of the State contracted in its own name, and the commonwealth's proportion of the national debt, every town was heavily indebted for money expended in local exigencies, such as filling quotas of men, demands for military supplies, etc. The payment of the interest alone on this crushing accumulation of liabilities was an undertaking which might well have daunted the financiers of the impoverished State, even at a time of happier promise for the future; but the unwise impatience of the people, dissatisfied with paying interest, which was compared with a canker that consumed their substance without lessening their burdens, led to the imposition, in 1784, of a tax of \$400,000, and in 1786 of \$333,000 additional, for the purpose of sinking that amount by the army debt. As might have been expected, all the taxes were found to be largely and hopelessly in arrears, notwithstanding the depreciation of the certificates of indebtedness issued by the State treasury, which were made receivable for them.

But the tax gatherer was not the only unwelcome visitor to the doors of the citizens of Massachusetts in those unhappy days; the tap of the sheriff or the constable was no less familiar. Private debts, which had for various reasons been postponed during the war, had accumulated fearfully, and a mania for bringing suits on them seemed to possess creditors; so that the courts were fairly clogged with business. No condition of things could have been more unfavorable to the imposition of heavy







taxes and the collection of long standing debts than that which then existed in Massachusetts. A paralysis seemed to have struck the young vigor of the State, for the cure of which time and a process quite other than depletion were required. The sanctity of property and the obligations of contracts had become impaired, not from the license of the people, nor because courts were obstructed in Berkshire or elsewhere, but from the unsettling of values through the excessive, however unavoidable, emission of paper money, and from the legislation which vainly attempted to sustain its credit. Gold and silver had long before the close of the war disappeared as a circulating medium; and the faith of the nation, which has since been found to furnish an adequate substitute, was without the basis to do so then. The continental currency, despite the exhausting efforts of Massachusetts to redeem her proportion of it, was fast sinking to an unappreciable value, and encumbered rather than facilitated the course of trade, until the only practicable relief was found in the formal recognition of its total worthlessness. Under circumstances of such overwhelming depression manufactures, which, under the stimulus of war had attained a somewhat vigorous growth, now languished; the fisheries, fearfully narrowed in their markets, ceased to be that source of wealth which had enriched the province; agriculture afforded but a scanty subsistence to farmers without the means of improving or stocking their lands, which were, in many cases, hopelessly mortgaged; while commerce had come to be little more than the means of draining what little of hoarded treasures remained in the State in payment for goods imported from markets that required few of the productions of Massachusetts in return. The thriftless habits acquired in camp life found little in the condition of things at home to stimulate or encourage reformation, and intemperance prevailed to an extent which had never before been known. Other results incident to a long and costly war conspired to inflame the discontent of the masses. Those who had served the great cause most faithfully had generally become impoverished, while men who deserved little had grown wealthy, and for the most part had invested what they had gained from the necessities of their country in something more substantial than worthless paper which clogged the knapsack of the returning soldier and the hoard of the rural patriot. In some large towns the ostentatious display of wealth and luxury by men of this class, by successful naval adventurers, and by others whom chance had favored in the general wreck, contrasted harshly with the struggling poverty of those whose long years of exposure and suffering had been cheered by the hope of a recompense very different from that which they received. It may perhaps be pardoned to these latter that some of them did not trace the causes of their disappointment with the nicety, or seek a remedy for it with the calm sagacity of philosophers. They had left men at home in charge of these things, and their wisdom seemed almost as much confounded by the miserable entanglement of affairs as was their own, although it soon began to manifest itself in legislation which gradually



brought, not only safety, but prosperity and harmony to the commonwealth.

Few are fully aware of the vast miseries that have been alleviated, and fewer still comprehend the measure of strength and stability which has been added to the State, during the past seventy-five years, by the tender regard shown for the poor and unfortunate, even more in the amelioration of laws and customs than in the institutions provided for the direct relief of suffering. When the constitution of 1780 went into effect the laws in force, and the customs universally in vogue, for the collection of debts and taxes were cruel and irrational to a degree which almost passes belief; and they were carried out with less compunction than is now wasted on the fate of the most worthless criminal. Imprisonment for debt had no alleviation; and the sole remedy devised for inability to pay was enforced idleness. The prison door closed more remorselessly on the poor debtor than on the thief or the incendiary; for while bail or pardon might obtain the release of the former, whose confinement, at the worst, had a fixed duration, no laws for his relief opened the prison door of the latter, or fixed a period to his incarceration within walls where too little regard was had to health, comfort, or decency. His only hope—and a long deferred one it often proved—was that his creditor might at last despair of extorting money from the pity of his friends, or that his resentment might finally exhaust itself. There are some yet living who remember how they were shocked by the gaunt forms, long unkempt hair, grizzly beards, and claw-like hands of men who with sunken eyes peered from behind grated windows where they had lain for years, guilty of no worse crime than the incurring of a trifling debt, which perhaps some unforeseen political or commercial convulsion had rendered them unable to pay; and, in 1786, not a few of these poor creatures, blue with prison mould, were those who had fought long for freedom, and were still largely the creditors of the country, the laws of which made them the tenants of debtors's jails.

The commonwealth had inherited an onerous judicial system from the province, and the general government had not then acquired the strength which it afterward possessed under the federal constitution. It was the dark period which immediately followed the Revolution. It is not a matter of wonder that the people should attribute to the government the misfortunes with which circumstances had surrounded them, or that they should entertain the thought—"To what purpose have our own blood and suffering secured the liberties of our country if our own are to be at the mercy of the tax gatherer, the sheriff, and the jailer; or if, escaping from them, we are to be the serfs of soil which barely procures us a scanty subsistence, with a poor house for the hope of our age!"

Under these circumstances leaders were not wanting. Some of these were, without doubt, sincere, but were the victims of an overweening conceit of their ability to cope with the most knotty problems of State, or of an impracticable fanaticism. Others were demagogues, or men who







sought mainly for notoriety. These leaders had seen the assumption of power by county conventions and the obstruction of the courts twice crowned with success, and they failed to comprehend that under the constitution a different allegiance was due from the citizen. They therefore resorted to the means which had before led to the desired end.

These conventions were at first, at least in form, lawful and respectable, and they disclaimed all connection with mobs. As time went on, however, they became more frequent and intemperate, and in some cases they were the abettors of violence. Lists of grievances were made, and redress of these was demanded. The action of many of the conventions tended to render the government contemptible or execrable in the eyes of the malcontents, and thus paved the way for, if they did not directly lead to, the violence which followed.

The constitution of 1780 made no provision for its own amendment or revision sooner than 1795, though it was believed by the conservative people in Berkshire county that in the absence of such provision the question of its revision might be submitted by the Legislature to the people.

In 1786 the malcontents in other counties, groaning under burdens of which they imperfectly comprehended the nature, and still more imperfectly the remedy, impatient of the long process and slow results of legislative reforms, and suspecting the State government of indifference to their sufferings, were eager for a change in those provisions of the constitution which, as they imagined, created an aristocratic element, by removing its officers from the direct control of their constituents. Inspired by this idea they raised a clamor for measures no less radical than the abolition of the Senate, a change in the basis of representation, and the dependence of all officers on salaries annually granted.

It was asked that the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions should be abolished; that the General Court should not sit at Boston; "to have a bank emitted of paper money subject to depreciation," making it a tender in all payments equal to gold and silver; that the system of imposing and collecting taxes should be remodeled, the fee table reduced, and a general reform instituted in managing the finances of the commonwealth.

Violent outbreaks occurred in several places in the State, and sessions of the court were prevented.

The course of the Berkshire people was peculiar. The insurgent leaders had evidently modeled their proceedings on those of this county previous to the adoption of the constitution, and from this circumstance, as well as from its defensible location, had counted on this as their stronghold. But the six years' discussion of political and constitutional questions previous to 1780 had rendered the people here more familiar with the great principles of government, and less liable to be misled by false or ignorant teachers than were those of most portions of the State. The inconsistency of seeking to overthrow the edifice which they had erected



at such infinite pains was instinctively felt by those who had been prominent in the struggles for a constitution, and doubtless they were too familiar with the evils attendant on an obstruction of the laws to favor a resort to it for light causes. Few of them, therefore, were involved in the Shays insurrection. Rev. Mr. Allen indeed was so active in his opposition as to be the special mark of the rebel ire, and he found it necessary to keep arms in his bedroom as a precaution, when it was most rampant. His earnest preaching against the sin of rebellion at this time won him many bitter and life-long enemies. But the leading citizens of Berkshire had learned confidence in the people and in the flexibility of the laws, as well as respect for constitutional authority, and instead of heeding the convention called in the county to be controlled by those who sought a violent remedy for sufferings perceptible alike to all, they tried their strength before the people and elected a majority of moderate men. This was more important, as, in the imperfect organization of party politics which then existed, delegates were elected by the towns, and not, as now, by sections of the people, whose opinions alone they are entitled to represent. The county convention then carried with it something of the authority of the municipalities by which its members were chosen, and often instructed; and by many its authority, as being nearer the people, was held paramount to the Legislature.

The convention assembled at Lenox while the insurrection was raging in the lower counties. The wise conservative action of this convention where, as has been said, the more fiery and zealous of the rebels were met on their own ground, outreasoned and outvoted, had the effect to deter hundreds who would otherwise have joined the ranks of the insurgents, but who rendered aid to the friends of law and order, or at least refrained from active participation in the disturbances of the time. No countenance was given to any of the preposterous political notions of the malcontents, but on the contrary, even the Tender Act, which was the least objectionable of the measures with which it was classed, was opposed, at a time when the circulating medium had been reduced to a point which rendered the possession of any considerable quantity of it impossible to men in ordinary circumstances. This much maligned act simply provided that executions should be satisfied by property of a marketable kind, taken at a fair valuation, instead of being sold under the hammer, with a moral certainty that it would be sold for a tithe of its value, perhaps being "bid in," by the creditor for a nominal sum, through sheer inability of the impecunious neighborhood to compete with him.

From the repudiation of this act by the convention it is fairly to be presumed that the follies enumerated by conventions in other counties were not approved, though the existence of grievances was admitted. The influence of the convention did not, however, avail to save the county from participation in the insurrection, for it had hardly adjourned before a mob collected at Great Barrington, and not only prevented the session of the Court of Common Pleas, but broke open the jail and re-







leased the prisoners; after which exploits they, by threats, induced three of the judges—among whom was Charles Goodrich, who seemed to have lost somewhat of his inflexibility—to sign an agreement that they would not act under their commissions till the grievances complained of had been redressed. To the credit of the fourth judge, Hon. Elijah Dwight, of Great Barrington, as well as that of the rioters, it is related that, on his making a manly resistance, he was not compelled to sign the papers. The mob was estimated at eight hundred men.

Traditions of incidents which occurred in Pittsfield and Lenox tell how the insurgent forces were recruited, and from what material. The village orators, previous to court day, gave out, either plainly or by intendo, that the session must be prevented; and the word passed from mouth to mouth. On the evening preceding the appointed day the disaffected farmers in the towns within a convenient distance—or perhaps throughout the county—as their men quitted work said to them, “Well, boys, they say there’s to be goings on at Barrington to-morrow, and, if you like, you can have the day and take the team and go down.” One leader in Pittsfield sent his two sons in this way, and one in Lenox his son and an apprentice. These were of the better class of the insurgents; but in every town there were then an unusual number of unemployed men, ready for whatever excitement offered, and generally hostile to the government, which they regarded as the cause of their bad condition, so that between those ready for any mischievous frolic and those earnestly hostile to the courts a boisterous and excited crowd was easily collected, which soon received the additional inflammation of strong drink, and thus fitting instruments were ready to the hands of the designing leaders, who seized the opportunity to commit their followers so deeply to the rebellion that retreat was difficult.

A session of the Superior Court in Springfield was prevented by a mob which collected there, and on the day fixed by law for opening the courts in Berkshire county a mob assembled at Great Barrington, and though no court appeared the crowd became riotous, and some acts of lawlessness were committed.

The insurrection assumed the form of a rebellion in the latter part of 1786, and acquired its name from Daniel Shays, who became its leader.

To General Benjamin Lincoln, of the Revolutionary army, was entrusted the work of subduing this rebellion. A collision occurred at the Springfield arsenal between the insurgents and a portion of Lincoln’s forces under General Sheppard, and with one discharge of artillery the rebels were dispersed, crying “Murder” as they fled, and leaving three of their number dead on the field.

Four hundred Berkshire men, under the leadership of Eli Parsons, were in Shays’ army. After the defeat of the rebels at Springfield, in the latter part of January, 1787, they fled to Petersham, where they were surprised by General Lincoln, a portion were captured, and the rest scattered.



Meanwhile small bodies of the insurgents appeared in Berkshire county for the purpose of creating a diversion in favor of those in Hampshire and elsewhere. But the friends of the government in this county, to the number of 500, some of them the first men in the county, volunteered to resist the rebellion. These volunteers went against the rebels, who had collected to the number of 150 or 200 in West Stockbridge, captured eighty-four of them, including their leader, Hubbard, and dispersed the others. They rallied again and were scattered at Adams, and reappeared to be again dispersed at Williamstown, where fourteen prisoners were taken.

After the dispersion of the insurgents at Petersham, General Lincoln marched to Berkshire county, passing through Peru, Hinsdale, and Dalton to Pittsfield, whence a party was sent in pursuit of one Major Wiley, whose son and five others were captured. Those in Northern Berkshire were driven into banishment or concealment.

Eli Parsons, who had led the insurgents from Berkshire, sent out from his hiding place an inflammatory appeal to his "friends and fellow sufferers."

On the 27th of January, 1787, a party of between eighty and ninety men, under Captain Perez Hamlin, entered the State from New York, and pillaged the town of Stockbridge. They made prisoners of some of its most respectable citizens, and proceeded with their booty and prisoners to Great Barrington, where they released the prisoners from the jail, then went toward Sheffield. Meantime Colonel Ashley, of Sheffield, had collected a force in that town, and these, united with a small body that had retreated from Great Barrington, made up a force of eighty men. With these he met the insurgents near the western boundary of Sheffield, and the severest encounter of the rebellion ensued. Thirty of the insurgents, and among them Hamlin, were wounded, two were killed, a third died of his wounds, and a large number were made prisoners. Of Colonel Ashley's force two were killed and one was wounded.

The borders of this and other counties remained, during some months, in a disturbed condition, but by the energetic cooperation of the neighboring States, though Vermont was the most tardy of these, the disturbances were finally quelled, and in September the forces called into service for the suppression of the rebellion were discharged.

There remained the more difficult task of reestablishing order and composing the agitated minds of the people. Justice was to be tempered with mercy in such measure as would not give heart to new outbreaks. The majesty of the law was to be maintained, but in such manner that there should be not even the semblance of a vindictive spirit, either in the Legislature or in the courts. Above all, legislators were to enter earnestly on the work of alleviating the burdens and sufferings which had maddened so many of the most patriotic and well-intentioned citizens, and in all this it was to be apparent that nothing was conceded to intimid-







dation, but that all was done through a sincere desire for the best interests of the people, and a pure regard for substantial justice.

Six of the insurgents in Berkshire county were found guilty of high treason, and condemned to death. These were Samuel Rast, of Pittsfield; Peter Williams jr., of Lee; Nathaniel Austin, of Sheffield; Aaron Knap, of West Stockbridge; Enoch Tyler, of Egremont; and Joseph Williams, of New Marlboro. Of these, three were hanged, two escaped, and the sentence of one was commuted to imprisonment during seven years.

William Whiting, of Great Barrington, John Deming, of West Stockbridge, John Hubbard, of Sheffield, and Daniel Sackett were sentenced to various grades of punishment for seditious words and practices. Those who had participated in the insurrection were, for a time, disfranchised and excluded from the jury box; but these disabilities were soon removed, the offender being merely required to take the oath of allegiance. Measures of reform in the administration of the laws and of the finances were immediately entered on, at first with somewhat of the crudity of thought which had prevailed before the insurrection; but the light soon began to break, and gleams of those beneficent reforms which have since prevailed began to streak the horizon. It is not the least among the compensations of the rebellion of 1786 that it directed the more earnest thought of cultivated statesmen to the imperfection of the laws, and to popular content as an element in the strength of the government.



## CHAPTER XII.

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### BERKSHIRE IN THE WAR OF 1812.

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DURING a long time previous to the declaration of war against Great Britain, in June, 1812, a majority of the people in Massachusetts, east from Berkshire county, were federalists. They regarded the theories of government held by the supporters of Jefferson and Madison as dangerous, and during the few years preceding the declaration of war their hatred of the administrations in power, and of the party which supported them, became intensified. When war was declared a *sense of personal injury* was added to their fears of what they regarded as *perfidious theories of government*. The evil which they feared had *come on them*. The embargo and non-importation acts, with the irritating and vexatious supplementary laws by which the government sought to enforce them, seemed to the importers of Massachusetts, who thought they saw them enforced through favoritism, sometimes with *needless severity* and sometimes with scandalous laxity, to be the very essence of tyranny. It was not now so much that the government favored France against Great Britain. The new laws seemed aimed less against old England than at the very life of New England : for trade, navigation, and fisheries were to her the source of all prosperous life. To the majority of its people the acts restricting navigation and commerce seemed but another Boston port bill, quite as malignant as the first, and more comprehensive. Their opinion of the radical tendencies of Jeffersonian democracy was more than confirmed by the effect of democratic measures on their fortunes.

Berkshire continued to show the result of her mountain isolation from the rest of the State ; uniformly, from 1801 to 1815, choosing democratic members of Congress, and State Senators of the same political complexion, except in a single year when a different result was secured by throwing out the votes of two democratic towns for informality. The territorial position of the county, acting on a basis of character derived from the Puritans, had made its people, in an unusual degree, independent thinkers ; independent, at least, of almost all external influences, however biased by traditional prejudice and well preserved feuds.

All assertions of this sort of independence must nevertheless be qual-





ified, and perhaps the best that can be claimed for the people of Berkshire in this regard is that their peculiar freedom from the intellectual authority of their State capital enabled them to judge with more candor of the arguments and reasonings which reached them from other sources. Of these influences, however little the people of Berkshire as a mass were inclined to be submissive to the opinions of their metropolis, no small portion were received from the town of Boston. It was impossible that every year some of the most active minds of the county—some with liberal culture and nearly all with abundance of shrewd common sense—should pass weeks among the people of Boston, and some of them in the most attractive circles, without a very considerable effect on their personal feelings, as well as on their views of the measures which were the ordinary topics of conversation. It would be too much of a question to fully consider here what the effect of these influences was on different classes of minds; but it is certain that as a rule the federalists returned charmed by the social fascinations of their metropolitan compatriots into a new devotion to the party of whose leaders they had found so pleasant an experience; and that the democrats were nerved by their legislative combats for sterner conflicts at home.

But, considerable as the influence of Boston on Berkshire opinion was, it was not a preponderating power. It was more than counterbalanced by that which arose from the intimate business relations between the county and the States of New York and Connecticut.

A more distinct and decided influence came, through Reverends Allen and Leland, from the leading intellects of the democratic party in the nation. From the era of 1776, Mr. Allen, until his death, followed Thomas Jefferson as the great apostle of liberty, and taught men to so regard him. Elder Leland, early familiar with the mighty men of his party in Virginia, and renewing his intercourse with them on repeated visits to the Old Dominion, communicated their spirit in its freshness as he passed from house to house, and what was thus told and taught became a mighty power.

The different material interests which had arisen in Berkshire tended to strengthen and confirm the democratic majority in their support of the war. East of the mountains manufactures and agriculture were secondary to commerce, and all their productions found foreign markets; while in Berkshire manufactures had assumed considerable importance, and they gave promise of becoming to a still greater extent the controlling interest. It was easy to see that the war would be indeed a stringent protective tariff which would greatly enhance the interests that had sprung up here, and the love of country and the hope of gain thus operated reciprocally on each other.

There were not the same economical reasons which prevailed in the eastern part of the State to restrain resentment for British insults and injuries. Here what opposition to the war existed arose from party affiliations and prejudices, or personal opinions regarding its justice, or its



expediency as affecting the whole country. Party feeling in New England was then more violent than it ever has been since. The federalists severely criticised the government for making war, and for the inadequate provisions that were at first made to prosecute it, and these criticisms, so far as the feeble preparations for the war were concerned, were not without foundation.

But the federalists made a great mistake when war was declared, not only in refusing it their support, but in going to the very verge of treason in their efforts to thwart the government in its measures for carrying it on, by their votes in Congress, by the acts of State Legislatures in which they had control, by discouraging enlistments, and throwing obloquy on the army and its officers. The democrats complained that "whatever difficulty or distress arose from the extraordinary circumstances of the times, when great difficulty and distress were inevitable, was aggravated and magnified to the highest degree for the purpose of inflaming the public passions; that from the moment when the war was declared they (the federalists) clamored for peace, and reprobated the war as wicked, unjust, and unnecessary. They made every possible effort to raise obstructions and difficulties in its prosecution, and yet censured the administration for its imbecility in carrying it on. They reduced the government to bankruptcy and then reproached it for its necessities and embarrassments. In a word, all their movements had but one object—to enfeeble and distract the government."

The indictment was a true one. Whatever may have been the impolicy of plunging into war, however a wiser statesmanship might have led to some other course, it could hardly be disputed that the acts of Great Britain had been such as to justify a resort to arms; that, as regarded her, the war was just. By their efforts to impede its successful prosecution the federalists committed the fatal error which made their name a stigma and a by-word for generations afterward. While its issue was uncertain, while mistakes in the camp and council offered constant themes for censure of the government; while taxation bore hard on the people, without, in most sections, adequate compensation by increased reward for industry; and above all, while the heat of party violence had no time to cool, it was easy to maintain a respectable opposition to the war; but when it closed under circumstances which threw around it a brilliant halo of glory, and with the ends for which it was undertaken substantially attained, although not definitely recognized in the treaty, the reaction came with double power, and the federal party had to sustain not only the obloquy of its errors but of many heinous political offenses which were far from its thoughts. Many faithless Peters, who had been among the most hot-headed of its adherents, not only denied it in its fall, but found high places in the hostile camp by maligning their old associates, who, wrapping themselves in the mantle of their pure and patriotic intentions, maintained a dignified silence.

The establishment of a military post within the country of course in-







creased the number and ardor of the supporters of the war, and the bitterness and intensity of their antagonism to their opponents. This was to a greater degree true here because the post was established in the State which, under the control of the federal party, openly opposed the war and threw every possible obstacle in the way of its successful prosecution by the general government. If the federalists of New England did not by overt acts give aid and comfort to the enemy they refused any genuine acquiescence in war measures, and hung on the rear of the enemies of the nation with all their moral force and with every power which by any interpretation of the constitution they could assume.

In Massachusetts those who had emphatically proclaimed their desire for a stronger central government than was provided by the constitution now avowed their belief in the extreme doctrine of State rights. Under their control the State refused to join in the offensive operations of the national government, or to aid in the defense of other States. She even, at first, refused to place her militia under the command of the officer assigned to the department by the President, although it was to be employed within her borders, and for her own defense.

Passively, and by necessity, submitting to the establishment of recruiting stations in her towns she attempted to neutralize their effects, discouraging enlistments by the solemn declarations of her governor and resolutions of her Legislature that the conflict they were asked to engage in was unnecessary, unjust, and wicked. Her governor, Caleb Strong, in a communication to the Legislature not only denounced the war, after the manner of the Federalists in those times, but put forth an elaborate argument in justification of the acts of Great Britain in the impressment of seamen from American vessels. By petty acts of legislation every thing possible was done to embarrass the federal officers within the limits of the State. Finally, in 1814, while a doubtful war was waging with a powerful enemy, she called a convention of other disaffected States, at Hartford, to change the constitution of the United States, which "had failed," she said, through her legislation, "under the administration of those now in power to secure to Massachusetts, and to New England generally, those equal rights and benefits, and which cannot be relinquished without ruin."

The establishment in Berkshire county at about the commencement of the war of a "Washington Benevolent Society," a secret federalist organization, tended to greatly strengthen the opponents of the war here. Although the members of this society, which numbered more than two thousand in this county, were not guilty of overt acts of treason, there was no doubt entertained at the time, indeed, it was not doubted, that they, in common with the federalists generally, sought to discourage enlistments, an act which tread closely on the confines of open treason, and from which there was but a step to the inducing and aiding of desertions from the army, and but one more to assisting and harboring escaped prisoners of war, and even to aiding in their escape. Such was the high



social and intellectual standing of the members of this society that its influence was potent, but not sufficient to overbear the national sentiment that was in the ascendant here. The existence, however, of a secret organization of opponents of the war in the immediate vicinity of a military post and prison rendered the strictest watchfulness on the part of its officers not only excusable but imperative. Whether justifiable or not the jealousies, hatreds, and assaults of the democrats were, in a great measure, concentrated on this society. They denounced its political aims and action as treasonable, and its secrecy as intended for the most pernicious uses. They declared its benevolence to be a hypocritical pretense, and scouted its fraternal kindness.

An organization called the "Sons of Liberty" was established to antagonize the operations of the Washington Benevolent Society, but it never attained the efficiency of the latter which, in 1814, succeeded in electing, by a small majority, a federal member of Congress. The candidate, Mr. John W. Hulbert, was personally popular, and his popularity, with the perfect organization of the society, was sufficient to overcome the democratic majority in the county.

The early establishment of the cantonment at Pittsfield, and the local events connected with it, are spoken of in the history of that town. During the first ten days after the establishment of this rendezvous thirty men were enlisted, and Lieutenant Jared Ingersoll was stationed at Sheffield, Lieutenant David Perry at Adams, and Ensign William Browning at Pittsfield, all recruiting for the Ninth regiment; Lieutenant Ralph B. Cuyler recruiting for the Sixth regiment.

It could not be expected that in a war like that of 1812 the soldiery of Berkshire would perform such conspicuous service as distinguished them in the Revolution; nevertheless, their record was honorable. The two regiments of infantry, the 9th and 21st, in which the county was largely represented, became noted in the army of the northern frontier for their gallantry, their efficiency, and their losses. There are no means for following them through their several campaigns, but whenever they are alluded to it is in the most honorable terms. The 9th acquired its sanguinary soubriquet previous to the campaign of 1814, being so styled by Captain Ingersoll in his call for recruits in the spring of that year: "None but gentlemen and gentlemen's sons need apply for admission to the ranks of the bloody 9th." From the context in his call it may be inferred that the standard of gentility was "honesty and sobriety."

Both regiments did excellent service, whenever they had opportunity, throughout the war; but they won their brightest laurels in the series of sanguinary conflicts and glorious victories at Chippewa, Lundy's Lane, Niagara Falls, and Fort Erie; in some or all of which Captain Harris' dragoons also performed brilliant exploits and contributed most essential aid in critical emergencies. In all these battles the 9th and 21st were with the foremost in sacrifice and achievement. The brave 9th, 11th, and 25th—the remnants of Winfield Scott's veteran brigade, which had suf-







fered terribly in the previous battles—says Lossing, were hurried into the battle of Niagara without warning or preparation. All day they fought valiantly, and at ten o'clock at night the shattered remnants of the brigade, commanded by such officers of the 9th as remained, rallied round the tattered colors of the 11th and kept the field. It was at this battle that the 21st performed an exploit which ranks in history with the charge of the Six Hundred at Balklava, though it has not yet found its poet. "The action," says Salmon Hale, in his brief story of the war, "was a succession of engagements: in one of which the Americans were surely annoyed, into whatever part of the field they might drive the enemy, or be driven, by the British artillery, stationed on a commanding eminence near Lundy's Lane. 'Can you storm that battery?' said General Ripley to Colonel Miller. 'I'll try, sir,' was the laconic answer. Giving the word of command to his men they with steady courage ascended the hill, advanced to the muzzle of the cannon, killed with their muskets several artillerymen on the point of firing their pieces, and drove the remainder before them. Both parties were instantly reinforced, and the enemy made a daring effort to regain their cannon. They were repulsed, but quickly repeated the attempt. Nearly all the opposing forces gathered around this position, and to possess it was the sole object of both armies. Again the enemy were repulsed, but again they renewed the effort. After a violent conflict they were a third time driven from the hill. The firing then ceased, the British troops were withdrawn, and the Americans were left in quiet possession of the field."

Dr. Elisha Lee Allen, of Pittsfield, was assistant surgeon of the 21st, and in a letter to his brother, Captain Jonathan Allen, giving a glowing account of the battle, he says that one officer of that regiment was killed and six wounded, and that in the 9th all but two officers were either killed or wounded.

In the defense of Fort Erie what was left of both regiments was again desperately engaged, and suffered severely. The same occurred in the famous sortie from that fort two days later.

General Ripley, when taking leave of the 21st, enumerated as the engagements in which that regiment had taken part under him in the early part of the war, York, Chryster's Farm, Fort George, and Sackett's Harbor, and in most if not all of these the 9th also took part.

The want of records in the State archives at Boston prevents as full a history of the doings of troops that enlisted from Berkshire county as might otherwise be given, and the entire absence of rolls there renders it impracticable to give the names of the Berkshire volunteers. Of them it may be said that they evinced their patriotism by enlisting in the service of their country without the inducement of large bounties, and in the face of the discouragements by which the opponents of the war sought to prevent them from so doing.

In the summer of 1814 the dangers that began to thicken around the country produced results which, although they seemed natural enough



in the present comprehension of American character, were surprising to those who had observed it only in its imperfect development during the formation years of the republic. Locally among the most interesting of these results was the proof furnished that Berkshire federalists were thoroughly loyal to their country, however they may have thought themselves justified in discouraging its government in the prosecution of a war which they deemed unnecessary and wicked.

Their evidently sincere joy over the early victories of the American navy might perhaps be quoted to the same effect; but the federalists regarded the navy as their own creation, built up by the administration of John Adams, against the most violent opposition of the democrats. In its triumphs they read as much of their own glory as that of their country. In 1814 they sacrificed the pride of party to their love of country. The impending of a great and common danger left, indeed, no excuse for any party which should withhold its aid from the common defense, but the heartiness and enthusiasm with which the federalists of Berkshire united for that purpose with their fellow citizens of other opinions showed that they sought none. And this union, although in its terms its immediate object was only State defense, extended a promise of future aid for all parts of the Union. Had the war lasted but another campaign, under similar pressure, the federalists would probably have been found shoulder to shoulder with the democrats in its prosecution.

What would have been won by such a union, had it been general throughout the country, cannot now be determined. The British provinces might have been annexed, British capital might have had the power to ruin the young American manufactures by competition, the verdict of Waterloo might have been reversed and Napoleon restored to the leadership of Europe; possibly, as the federalists had once feared, then to extend his empire across the seas.

But the possibilities which, at midsummer in 1814, confronted the people of Massachusetts and the whole country, were very different from this. Dangers encompassed them. Ever after the preceding year British armed vessels of every class—the cumbersome but terror-striking seventy-four, the dashing frigate, the midge-like tender and cutter, the ubiquitous privateer—swarmed along the whole coast keeping up an annoying blockade, to the serious although not total interruption of both foreign and coastwise commerce. These vessels, however, committed few depredations on land until the spring of 1814, when they destroyed some villages on the coast of Connecticut, and laid others, as well as detached farm houses, under heavy contributions. In June the enemy began to ravage the coast of Massachusetts, inflicting damage chiefly on vessels lying in harbor or on stocks.

The coast of Maine received similar visitations, and the territory east of the Penobscot was seized with the avowed purpose of retaining permanent possession. All these proceedings, of course, raised the utmost resentment in the breast of every American citizen, and were especially







adapted to destroy whatever attachment there might have been to Great Britain.

Almost simultaneously with the arrival of fresh ships of the enemy and his first attacks on the coast of Massachusetts, came the news of the abdication of Napoleon; leaving England not only released from the fear of her great enemy, but at the head of the nations of Europe. She was now free to end the contest in America by a sharp and vigorous campaign, and closely following this intelligence came the information that the enemy was collecting, at Bermuda, a very formidable armament of men and ships, which rumor, after exaggerating its numbers, destined by turns for New York, the Chesapeake, Washington, and other places, not excepting Boston.

The most serious and agitating alarm pervaded the whole Atlantic coast, and every seaboard State hastened to give vigorous aid in the preparation for its own defense, and Massachusetts was no exception. It was felt to be no time to raise any except the most essential points as to the limits of national and State authority over her militia. Both parties, for a time, seemed willing to waive, until the danger was past, all differences which stood in the way of harmonious and efficient action. It was but little that the general government asked the commonwealth to yield, and that little for the purpose of better defending her own State capital.

Brigadier General Cushing, temporarily in command of the military department which included Massachusetts, informed Governor Strong that the regular troops at his disposal for both the forts in Boston harbor were barely sufficient to garrison one; and he proposed that the militia of the State, to be called out in compliance with an expected request of the president, should occupy the other. To secure the governor's assent to this plan, he agreed that the whole detachment asked for the defense of Boston and other exposed points on the coast—amounting to eleven hundred men—should be subject to no officer of the general government except the commander—superintendent the governor insisted on calling him—of the district, retaining only so much authority over the militia as would insure harmony of action between them and the regular troops.

On the 18th of July a general order was issued by the adjutant general of the State making a detail of troops from the State militia. This detail included no company from Berkshire county.

On the 6th of September an order was made calling out ten thousand militia. They were rejoiced to receive the long desired order to join in the defense of their country at the time when her danger appeared most imminent. Of these troops an entire regiment, with two independent companies, went from Berkshire county. Major General Whiton, of New Marlboro, was one of the higher officers in command of the Western Massachusetts troops, and Colonel H. W. Dwight, of Stockbridge, and Colonel Sloane, of Lanesboro, were his aids. The independent companies, or flank companies, as they were called, were the Berkshire Blues



from Pittsfield, and Captain Hunt's company of light infantry from Stockbridge.

The full regiment of seven hundred men commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Solomon H. Chamberlain, of Dalton, marched from Lenox for Boston September 15th. Rev. Billy Hibbard was chaplain of this regiment, and from his autobiography some paragraphs are here quoted, which give the only account there is of the Pittsfield militia's "campaign at Boston."

"Our men were in high spirits. I had been ordered to join the regiment on the third day's march. \* \* \* The day I started I heard of the defeat of the British at Plattsburg and Baltimore. So, when I overtook the regiment in Ware and informed them of the news, they gave six cheers which rent the air.

"When we arrived at Boston we were ordered to encamp at Cambridgeport. This was a wet, sunken place calculated to give our men remittent fevers. However, our good surgeon, Dr. (Asa) Burbank, succeeded in curing all that were attacked. Our regiment was called out every morning to attend prayers, and we had some solemn seasons. I generally prayed six or eight minutes, and would sometimes exhort them about ten minutes.

"Some of them expressed an opinion that it was needless to have chaplains in an army, but from what I have witnessed I think if ministers can do good anywhere they can in the army, if they are men fearing God themselves. \* \* Not long after I returned home I had the satisfaction of hearing of forty-three who were in our regiment who had experienced religion and joined our society.

"I was requested to inform those members of the assembly, then sitting in Boston, who came from that part of Maine in which the British troops lay that our regiment was awaiting orders to march down and drive them off. And they petitioned Governor Strong for a suitable force of volunteers for that purpose. But our pious governor loved our enemies so well that he would not have them hurt or disturbed. So he advised neutrality and preached peace with all but republicanism; I did not hear of his preaching peace with that."

The militia remained in Boston three months, no doubt learning something of the art of war, and seeing as much of metropolitan life as was good for them. If they did not see any active service it was clearly from no lack of inclination. If they had met the enemy in battle there is every reason to believe that they would have maintained the reputation which Berkshire soldiers have kept unsullied in all the wars in which they have taken part.

In February, 1815, intelligence was received that the protocol for a treaty of peace had been agreed on by the commissioners at Ghent, ratified by the prince regent at London, and forwarded to Washington for ratification. This news was received with extravagant demonstrations of the joy which all felt at the return of peace.

Although the cessation of hostilities relieved the people of Berkshire country, as it did those of the whole country, of many of their burdens and anxieties, and although the joyous greeting with which they met it was not without wise reasons, yet the cessation of hostilities was far from favorable to their immediate material interests. The partial stoppage of







the national expenditure diminished both the mercantile and manufacturing business here, and the abundance and cheapness of the British fabrics with which the whole country was flooded threatened to complete their ruin.

The people here soon began to feel this bitterly, and it was the opinion of the veteran Britain haters—and, like most of their opinions, not altogether unsupported by at least presumptive proof—that the English manufacturers, unable to protect their monopoly either by preventing the extension of their improvements in machinery, or to crush their rivals by force of arms, had determined to effect their destruction by a free use of their unlimited capital, even a wasteful temporary use of which could be wisely made if it succeeded in driving American rivals from their own markets.



## CHAPTER XIII.

### BERKSHIRE IN THE WAR OF 1861-5.

IT IS NOT necessary to discuss here the causes which led to the great rebellion, or the part which the State of Massachusetts and the county of Berkshire had in shaping the events that led to the struggle which tested so severely the cohesive strength of this great nation. All that can be given here is a brief sketch of the part which Berkshire county sustained in that great contest which resulted so gloriously for the American nation, which demonstrated the possible permanency of republican institutions, and struck out of existence here one of the relics of ancient barbarism.

When the war cloud burst on the country Massachusetts was not wholly unprepared for the emergency. Many years previous to 1860 the spirit of reform in this State had swept away the old militia system, with its annual musters, its gorgeous generals and colonels, its spirited and trim volunteer companies, its Falstaffian "flood wood" and its many vexations and abuses. In the new law provision was made for a few well trained volunteer corps in the cities and large towns; and these proved to be what the theory of the law contemplated, the nurseries of military spirit and skill. These organizations were the first to spring to arms at the call of their country, and not only did they meet the sudden emergency that arose, but in many cases they were the nucleus around which more permanent organizations were framed. Aside from the members of these military bodies the people of the country generally rallied around the standard of their country in its hour of peril, and as call after call for men was made the towns in the county promptly responded and filled their quotas; and the citizens of Berkshire point with a laudable pride to the records, which show that on every call for men each town in the county furnished the full number required of it, and that at the termination of the war it was found that two of these towns had furnished the exact number required, while each of the remaining twenty-nine had a surplus to its credit. The amount of these surpluses was three hundred and eighty-eight men. The total number of men furnished for the war by the towns in the county was between five and six thousand.





The aggregate amount of money raised by the towns in the county for war purposes was \$852,946.70. Of this the sum of \$262,049.61 was raised for State aid to the families of volunteers, and it was reimbursed by the commonwealth.

The following is a brief statement of the action of the towns during the war:

#### ADAMS.

Early in April, 1861, the citizens of North Adams contributed \$5,634 to furnish and equip the Greylock Infantry, which became the nucleus of the first volunteer organization. Later in the same month a town meeting authorized the expenditure of money to the amount of \$29,000 for the aid of military companies and the care of the families of volunteers. In July, 1862, after the call for 300,000 three years' volunteers, they voted "that one hundred dollars be paid from the town treasury to each person who shall enlist under the call of the Governor as one of the quota of the town." When, in the following August, the call for 300,000 nine months' men was received, the people in the town suspended all business during three days, and devoted the time to raising the required quota; and afterward a bounty of \$100 was voted to each volunteer for nine months.

During 1863 recruiting was kept up and at a town meeting in September of that year it was voted to pay the families of drafted men who went into the service State aid the same as volunteers.

In July, 1864, the town voted a bounty of \$125 to each three years' volunteer, and instructed the selectmen to continue recruiting after the quota was filled in anticipation of calls that might afterward be made.

The last action taken by the town during the war was on the 22d of July, 1865, when it voted to refund all moneys paid for recruiting purposes in 1864, whether by individuals or by the selectmen.

A Ladies' Aid Society, of which Mrs. Miles Sanford was president, and Mrs. J. T. Robinson secretary, distributed more than \$10,000.

The town appropriated and expended on account of the war \$112,103; for aid to the families of soldiers, which was afterward refunded by the commonwealth, \$47,759.51.

The following list of soldiers from the town of Adams was compiled from the adjutant-general's report of the Massachusetts volunteers, as were the lists for all the other towns:

8th Infantry, three months,—Henry M. Lyons, captain; Eugene B. Richardson, 1st lieutenant; Fred W. Champney, 2d lieutenant; Erwin W. Garlick, 1st sergeant; Henry A. Glazier, Willis G. Jackson, John Courmes, Sylvanus J. Stroud, sergeants; Andrew Smith, Henry W. Downs, Oscar H. Marsh, Thomas Reddy, Fred L. Fiero, Charles H. Hayser, Berthia R. Hannum, corporals; Isaac L. Koonveldt, Albert E. Dennison, musicians; privates, Charles Adams, Edward Allen, Luman S. Arnold, Joseph Battles, Merritt Bly, Mason Bowen, George W. Bracy, Leonard Browning, John Callahan, Johnson Campbell, Lamont S. Capron, David W. Chandler, Charles





B. Clark, Edward Clark, Eugene Clark, Jerome L. Clegg, John Collins, Nicholas Conley, Sylvester Cook, Agnes Courtwright, William H. Dermont, John Dilworth, John Donovan, John Dowd, Daniel Dowling, Frank S. Downing, Ezeriah Eddy, William H. Emerson, Jesse Fields, James Fiero, James Flood, Franklin Gove, George W. Graham, Allen Green, Fred M. Green, Gerritt S. Guild, Henry Hall, Merritt H. Hall, Homer Hawley, Simon Hill, John Hilliard, Erwin E. Hoxie, Edward G. Ingraham, Thomas Johnson, Thomas Kennedy, George Kenyon, Thomas K. Ladd, Frank Lapoint, Alexis Le Claire, Andrew Lindsay, Joseph Lindsay, Frank McKenna, Charles N. Miller, Wells B. Mitchell, Francis E. Mole, William H. H. Montgomery, Charles S. Nichols, Martin Nolan, Napoleon Paquette, Joseph Patterson, James Raidy, Stephen H. Smith, Edmund S. Streeter, George Sweeley, Philander Thomas, William F. Walden, Henry H. Walker, Hiram H. Walker, Franklin E. Waters, Henry A. Whipple, Reuben Whipple, Levi H. Whitman, Isaac Williams, Ira H. Wood.

49th Infantry, nine months,—Francis W. Parker, captain; Sanford H. Gleason, Henry M. Lyons, 2d lieutenants; Warren A. Marsh, George Southwick, 1st sergeants; John Beelur, Charles B. Clark, Robert T. Norbaday, George M. Lyons, sergeants; Henry C. Crandall, Edward Davis, Henry A. Glazier, Erwin Garlick, Oscar H. Marsh, Andrew Smith, Albert H. Upton, Charles Waters, corporals; privates, John W. Adams, Joseph Avey, Henry W. Babcock, Samuel B. Bennett, Jerome N. Briggs, Henry N. Brown, Walter S. Brown, Alden Carpenter, Seneca A. Carpenter, Charles G. Cartwright, Albert H. Cheesbro, Albert W. Cheesbro, Chad B. Cheesbro, Dwight Cheesbro, Daniel D. Clark, Jerome L. Clegg, Riley Collwell, John Courtney, William Crosier, Patrick Curley, Orson Darymple, Dennis Howarth, George W. Dudge, Benjamin C. Estes, Patrick Fern, Franklin Gove, Walter F. Gray, William Green, Charles B. Herman, John Hilliard, Edward Howland, James Hussey, Merritt Martindale, Micah G. Matterson, Henry H. May, John McGue, William H. Montgomery, Thomas Murphy, Almon F. Ormsbee, William S. Perkins, George B. Potter, John Quackenbush, Christopher Quell, Daniel Ray, Edwin H. Raymond, John F. Reynolds, Michael Reynolds, Francis G. Robertson, Isaac Roosevelt, Michael Ryan, Whitcomb Simpson, Horace M. Sheldon, James D. Snook, Stillman S. Staples, James Stocking, Edwin O. Tower, George Weeks, William A. Wilton, Ira Wood, Charles Wright.

52d Infantry, nine months,—Private, Loraine M. Ballou.

53d Infantry, nine months,—Private, Henry H. Wellington.

1st Heavy Artillery, three years,—Privates, John Fallen, Thomas Garrity, James H. Wylie.

2d Heavy Artillery, three years,—Privates, James Gill, William P. O'Brien, George W. Sprague.

3d Heavy Artillery, three years,—Samuel H. Lee, principal musician; privates, William E. Conrad, Robert J. Darby, Eben R. Deane, Henry L. Keyser, Stephen F. Kimball, Warren H. Lamphere, Frank O. Loomis.

1st Battalion, Heavy Artillery, three years,—Private, Romain Maier.

1st Cavalry, three years,—Lyman E. Field, sergeant; Lewis F. Amidon, John Hazlett, Alonzo Helme, Brian Holien, John Morgan, corporals; Charles H. Jennings, farrier; privates, James H. Baunum, Henry O. Bogart, Elson Blakslieff, Samuel Burrows, Edwin C. Cheesbro, Elisha Downs, William Grando, Lorenzo L. Hawes, Robert Hunter, Franklin Jeffers, Walter D. Jennings, Daniel McDonald, Louis F. Moulton, Samuel Owens, Charles Rathburn, Ormond E. Rice, Arthur P. Smith, George W. Stanton, James W. Stocking, William H. Swan, Charles C. Yeazie, William T. Wheelock, George W. H. H. Whitney.





2d Cavalry, three years.—George F. Willis, corporal; privates, Abraham Broughton, Walter Connor, Charles C. Cousens, James Dolan, Charles Duford, Milo G. Ford, Charles S. Gleason, Allen Leonard, Benjamin Lund, Daniel McNeer, Samuel Morgan.

4th Cavalry, three years.—Privates, Israel Adams, Alfred Brown, William Cadron, Johnson Daniels, Henry A. Fairbanks, Charles Houle, John Janfin, Michael Reynolds, Merritt F. Sampson, Henry A. Shumway, Robert Smith.

2d Infantry, three years.—Privates, Allen A. Marsh, George W. Sprague.

10th Infantry, three years.—Elisha Smart, Samuel C. Traver, captains; William H. Cousens, Samuel C. Traver, David W. Wells, 1st lieutenants; N. P. A. Blais, William F. Darby, Simeon N. Eldridge, Lewis W. Goddard, David W. Wells, 2d lieutenants; N. P. A. Blais, William E. Briggs, 1st sergeants; William H. Cousens, Charles H. Hubbard, John W. Mallory, Ashael W. Rouse, George H. Sherman, David W. Wells, sergeants; John C. Atwood, Nathan O. Blinn, Henry G. Blossom, George C. Briggs, Alexander W. Fulton, Hiland H. Fuller, Merritt S. Sandford, Cinnatus C. Wiley, corporals; Lewis T. Amidon, James W. Blossom, Charles I. Knapp, wagoners; band, William D. Hodge, leader; Edward A. Chase, Francis L. Clark, Merritt H. Hall, Frederick R. Hamilton, William E. Haskins, Albert K. Ingraham, Charles B. King, Frank Lewis, Daniel Luther, Burdick A. Stewart, Edward W. Stewart, Henry C. Stewart, Jacob V. Stewart, Henry A. Tower, William G. Viall, Addison G. Wheeler, John D. Worth; privates, George W. Balster, Levi Brooks, William H. Brown, Edward C. Burnap, Philo Caneda, James Cavanaugh, John Charles, Alfred Cheesebro, Hiram Clegg, Joseph W. Cole, Simeon B. Colton, Henry W. Coopee, Ferris A. Cooper, Frederick Crossett, James Cummysky, William F. Darby, Major Deon, James H. Dyer, Simeon L. Eldridge, John Gaffney, Frederick W. Gage, Peter Galligan, Levi R. Green, Alfred Hall, George Hanson, Henry K. Harris, Orrin S. Harwood, William H. Harrington, Adelbert A. Haskins, John Hazlett, William Hazlett, Stephen W. Heckox, John Herman, Henry Hoffmaster, George S. Hubbard, Elisha Hunt, Russell F. Hunt, Charles Jeffers, Rosser Jenkins, Stephen B. Kimball, Charles B. King, Rodolphus Langfair, John H. Larrabee, Jeremiah Leary, George Long, Thomas Maginley, Ethan E. Maynard, James McArthur, Charles H. Miller, Samuel Millett, John Moore, Charles S. Nichols, Alexander Perry, John Perry, William H. Perkins, Robert C. Pettit, Charles N. Pike, John W. Pike, Patrick Portell, James M. Randall, John Reilly, Wilson W. Rice, Thomas Riley, Albert Roberts, John C. Robinson, Richard Savage, William Shaftoe, William Shafron jr., Edward E. Smetman, James W. Sheldon, Melvin Silkworth, John Sinotte, William Slatterly, Warren M. Smith, Nicholas Stillings, John H. Towle, Charles Van Valkenburgh, Ephraim Walker, Francis Walker, Serene W. Wells, Buel G. Wilsey, Berea M. Willsey, Jeremiah Wilbur, Wallace York.

12th Infantry, three years.—Lewis C. Champney, corporal; privates, George N. Daniels, Peter Smith.

17th Infantry, three years.—Privates, William P. O'Brien, Abram A. Tyler, Emory Watkins.

18th Infantry, three years.—Patrick Gallagher, corporal; private, Edward Harrington.

19th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Frederick Lantz, Angus McDonald.

20th Infantry, three years.—Ashbel W. Rouse, 2d Lieutenant; privates, John Gaffney, Peter Galligan, Levi R. Green, William H. Harrington, James McArthur,





George H. Orentt, Ashbel W. Rouse, William Shaftoe, John Schwarzeberger, James W. Sheldon, Warren M. Smith, Charles Van Valkenburgh.

21st Infantry, three years.—Edwin R. Wood, sergeant; George E. Sayles, Edwin R. Wood, corporals; privates, George S. Booth, John Cosma, Philo N. Denny, Henry M. Fellows, Michael Flynn, William Goodell, Proten Henrie, Jules Jacquot, Charles H. Jennings, Joseph Labaris, William L. Orentt, John Reynolds, Samuel Roulson, Peter Savage, Josephus Thew, George Worthington.

24th Infantry, three years.—Timothy Blodan, corporal; privates, Henry Alden, William E. Haskins, David W. Jeffers, George W. Jeffers, William O. Jennings, James Newman, Peter Powers.

27th Infantry, three years.—William M. Brown, William M. McKay, majors; Miles Sanford, chaplain; Joseph Ainley, Charles D. Sanford, captains; George M. Bowker, William H. H. Briggs, Charles D. Sanford, Sidney S. Terry, William H. Tyler, 1st lieutenants; William H. H. Briggs, Jerome B. Joslyn, 2d lieutenants; Jerome B. Joslyn, sergeant major; George M. Bowker, quartermaster sergeant; Joseph Ainley, Nelson W. Bowen, Jerome B. Joslyn, William McKay, 1st sergeants; Parsons M. Ault, Bernard Calwell, William Cambell, Alexander G. Harrington, Sidney S. Terry, sergeants; James F. Cousens, Thomas Hare, Joseph M. Montgomery, Christopher Reagan, Charles H. Robertson, John B. Shorum, Sidney S. Terry, Frederick Williams, corporals; Samuel Lee, musician; privates, Parsons M. Ault, Charles H. Beebe, David S. Blanchard, Frederick E. Blanchard, William P. Bracy, Franklin B. Braton, Jabez C. Brown, Judge Bullard, John Bulpin, William Chessar, Edward P. Clark, Charles A. Como, Charles W. Cone, Patrick Conley, Henry C. Crandall, Thomas Daley, Daniel N. Davis, Wardrop Davidson, Dennis Delworth, William Erwin, John L. Erwin, Jared Estes, Sidney C. Estes, Charles T. Evans, Robert B. Harrington, John W. Hayden, Caspar J. Hisler, Joseph C. Hisler, David Hogan, Sylvester Kent, Robert Lilly, James McGough, George McGue, Edward D. McKee, Joseph M. Montgomery, Samuel L. Montague, John Moody, Charles H. Morgan, Emory P. Morton, James Neale, Romanzo A. Nichols, John O'Brien, Emory Peck, Henry M. Peck, Royal H. Plumb, Albert O. Reed, Henry Remington 1st, Alvin Rider, James A. Rider, George Smith jr., Charles L. Spooner, Henry C. Terry, William L. Terry, Thomas Watson, Frederick Williams, Pliny Witt, John W. Woffenden.

28th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Dennis Daley, Charles R. Hayden.

31st Infantry, three years.—Lester M. Hayden, captain; Lester M. Hayden, 1st lieutenant; William Adult, Thomas Harrington, William Shaftoe, William Ward, sergeants; Charles H. Adriance, John Burt, William H. Exford, corporals; Isaiah R. Grey, Theodore J. Grey, musicians; privates, Samuel J. Allen, Matthew Benman, Edward Bowe, Stephen N. Briggs, Henry C. Burt, John Burton, Luther T. Carpenter, Andrew Carr, Charles F. Clark, Thomas S. Cooper, William Cornway, William Crayton, Jacob Dainton, Tyler Danforth, Patrick Donavan, Michael Dueha, Patrick Dugan, George Estes, Zimri Estes, George P. Fellows, Jonas Fountain, Joseph Grover, Michael Hagerty, Alfred B. Harrington, Maurice Hayes, Thomas Hennesey, George W. Hewes, Joseph W. Hodgman, Horace O. Jones, Thomas S. Keiley, Marcenas P. Kimball, George C. Lawson, Reuben Lewis, Joseph Maginley, George P. Manchester, George McElroy, George Moore, Joseph Monroe, William H. Murphy, Edward Newman, Lawrence O'Brien, George H. Orentt, Minor Ormsby, Edward Regan, Matthew Rennon, George Rice, Zelotes Rice, Hiram Rogers, Harvey Sherman, John J. Slitterly, George Stewart, William Thorington, Henry Whitney, Henry White, Marcena Williams, Daniel Woods, James Woods, Emory C. Wright.





32d Infantry, three years,—Privates, Lewis C. Champney, George N. Daniels, Homer Haskins, Edwin J. Pettis, Peter Smith.

34th Infantry, three years,—Henry J. Millard, assistant surgeon; Wells B. Mitchell, 1st lieutenant; Wells B. Mitchell, 2d lieutenant; William Carr, Wells B. Mitchell, sergeants; Warren N. Phillips, corporal; Privates, Frederick E. Blanchard, Joseph B. Brown, David Davis, John Gaffney, Peter Galligan, Levi R. Greco, Wilbur Hart, William E. Haskins, John Morgan, Richard Nokes, John Purcell, Henry C. Quellett, John W. Stafford, Frank M. Turner, John Wilcox, George O. Wiley.

36th Infantry, three years,—Private, Michael Flynn.

37th Infantry, three years,—Jonas A. Champney, John C. Robinson, captains; Jonas A. Champney, William H. Cousens, John C. Robinson, 1st lieutenants; Darwin R. Fields, John M. Patridge, Frederick L. Wheelock, sergeants; Thomas J. Crandall, Daniel O'Neil, John R. Rouse, Luther M. Tanner, corporals; privates, Charles M. Babbitt, James L. Bowen, Milton Brooks, William Bulman, Ansel R. Cook, Ferris A. Cooper, James R. Cowden, Urbane H. Critenden, Frederick W. Crossett, James Davis, Philip Dempsey, Richard Fulton, Edward Gregson, William H. Harrington, John Herman, Samuel W. Hogle, John Kelly, Daniel Lewis, Edward R. Lobdell, Joel J. Lobdell, Ormand H. Lovell, James McArthur, Michael McCormie, Dennis McGrah, Leonard Morgan, Patrick Mulcare, John A. Murphy, Stephen O'Connell, William O'Connell, James H. Perkins, William J. Pettit, Edwin E. Phelps, Levi A. Rice, Patrick Riley, Joseph Rivet, George Roberts, Ashbel W. Rouse, George H. Sears, William Shaftoe jr., James W. Sheldon, Francis Sherman, William J. Simmons, Henry Slater, Warren M. Smith, William Stone, Henry Van Tassel, Charles Von Valkenburg, Nelson E. Walden.

39th Infantry, three years,—Edwin L. Arnold, corporal; privates, George N. Daniels, Peter Smith.

54th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Caleb Boss, Jeremiah Bradley.

56th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Michael Flynn, Charles Ealler, Frederick A. Stratton.

57th Infantry, three years,—Wilbur F. Ward, corporal; privates, Albert Allen, William Boyden, Amasa R. Bullock, Augustus Champney, George Gavin, David A. Hart, Joseph Honte, James Hodge, Martin Kelly, Oliver S. Kimball, Dennis Landon, Andrew Powers, Charles Ryan, Edward Saucy, Barnabas Sears, Edwin P. Sherman, Gilbert L. Walker, George H. Wilcox, Daniel Williams.

58th Infantry, three years,—Private, William Harris.

59th Infantry, three years,—Private, William Bryden.

61st Infantry, one year,—Simeon N. Eldridge, captain; William W. Montgomery, George A. Sherman, 2d lieutenants; Charles M. Brown, quartermaster sergeant; Harrison W. Benson, 1st sergeant; John T. Adams, John F. Bates, William L. Crosier, John D. Follett, sergeants; John H. Abrahams, Edwin R. Atwood, James Baker, Noah J. Ball, Charles M. Brown, Amasa M. Burt, Chadwick B. Cheesbro, Patrick H. Fern, corporals; privates, Ambrose T. Aldrich, George W. Averhill, Horace Avery, Lorenzo D. Bailey, Nathan V. Baker, Daniel Booth, George A. Bruffe, Noah J. Carter, Benjamin Chapman, Alfred W. Cheesbro, Simeon B. Cotton, Augustus Crone, George Crocker, James Croner, Orson Dalrymple, Joel I. Davis, William H. Emerson, Hawkins Estes, Andrew Fife, Michael Frawley, Otis H. Fuller, Waldo C. Fuller, Jerome Goodsell, Amos Green, Ferdinand Greenwood, Charles Hall, Charles W. Hall, Ethan H. Hammond, George J. Harwood, John Hart, Ambrose A.





Hathaway, Homer Haskins, Daniel A. Hewitt, Patrick Hopper, William Houghteling, George Hoyt, John W. Illingworth, Reuben Kent, William Kennedy, Adolphus Lanfair, Charles Larabee, Edward Madison, Warren Matterson, William McCarty, Isaiah S. Merrill, William W. Montgomery, Isaac Mosher, James Murphy, Thomas Munroe, Franklin E. Myers, Thomas O'Brien, Kliner Peck, Isaac Plant, Calvin Pratt, Amos Preo, Sanford E. Richmond, Sidney E. Rider, William H. Roberts, Samuel F. Roulson, Henry Rowan, Truffy Russell, Peter Savage, John Senott, Henry A. Sheldon, Horace M. Sheldon, Peter Snyder, Horace Stocking, George S. Stockwell, Samuel Tift, John N. Tumer, James W. Walker, William Wells, Charles H. Whitman, Arthur Young.

Veteran Reserve Corps,—Henry Davis, William Davis, James Gentry, Herman Jackel, John Leddy, John B. Main, Henry McMan, George Reed, Otto Stoll, Frederick Vandervett, Thomas B. White.

Regular Army,—Henry F. Barber, Frederick R. Hamilton, Charles B. King, Daniel Luther, Duty F. Miller, Henry C. Rand, Lucius C. Rand, Burdick A. Stewart, Edward W. Stewart, Henry C. Stewart, Henry A. Tower, William E. Viel, Charles H. Warren, Addison G. Wheeler, John D. Worth.

U. S. Veteran Volunteers,—Alexander Perry.

U. S. Colored Troops,—Henderson Crosby.

#### ALFORD.

In July, 1862, Alford voted a bounty of one hundred and twenty-five dollars to each volunteer for three years, and to this some loyal men in the town added ten dollars for each man. Seventy-five dollars were voted to each drafted man, in case of a draft. In August the town "voted to authorize the selectmen to pledge the credit of the town to *any amount* that may be necessary to pay to each volunteer soldier required of this town, under the late call of the President for 300,000 nine months' men, the sum of three hundred dollars."

In 1864, the town voted to pay bounties of one hundred and twenty-five dollars to volunteers. Nine men were drafted, and each paid a commutation of three hundred dollars.

The town expended \$5,348 on account of the war, and \$2,934.81 for aid to families, refunded by the commonwealth.

The ladies of Alford bore their share of the burdens of the war.

The following is a list of the soldiers from Alford:

8th Infantry, 100 days,—Private, Frederick E. Brown.

49th Infantry, nine months,—Privates, Mark Bracken, Robert H. McCurdy, Edwin H. Shook, Jesse H. Calkins.

9th Battery, Light Artillery, three years,—Private, William Johnson.

20th Infantry, three years,—Private, Peter Stalker.

25th Infantry, three years,—Private, Arthur Donnelly.

37th Infantry, three years,—George Prindle, corporal; privates, Peter Stalker, Alexander Beckwith, Benson Brazee, George S. Chapin, Enos Estes, Richard A. Holmes, Henry Packard, George A. Palmer, John M. Taylor, James H. Wagner, Myrick M. Chapin.

55th Infantry, three years,—Private, Joseph H. Bradley.

57th Infantry, three years.—Robert F. McCurdy, corporal.

61st Infantry, one year,—Private, Moses B. Howard.





## BECKET.

In May, 1861, Becket voted two thousand dollars for volunteers, and in June authorized the treasurer to borrow for bounties and for State aid to the families of volunteers.

This vote was repeated in June, 1862, and a resolution was adopted to pay a bounty of \$100 to each volunteer who was credited to the town. Bounties and State aid to the families of volunteers were continued through 1863.

In 1864 a bounty of \$125 was voted to each volunteer for three years, and the treasurer was authorized to borrow "whatever amount of money shall be necessary to fill the contingent of the town."

The town appropriated \$15,387 on account of the war, and \$10,000 for State aid to soldiers' families.

The following is the list of Becket's soldiers in the war:

49th Infantry, nine months,—Orton W. Jennings, 1st-sergeant; Henry P. Phelps, corporal; privates, A. C. Barnes, Samuel H. Bennett, Charles T. Broga, George W. Brown, Henry P. Clark, George W. Codwell, Isaac Denslow, Chester E. Hamilton, William H. Hinman, Henry E. Lee, Thomas Nodman, Dwight Sherman, Rufus L. Thayer, Edmund B. Turner, Allen H. Wheeler, James L. Whipple, Gilbert Worden, Jr., Philemon Walker.

2d Heavy Artillery, three years,—Private, Lysander Miller.

1st Cavalry, three years,—Private, Charles D. Kingsley.

2d Cavalry, three years,—Private, Oliver H. Bowman.

2d Infantry, three years,—Privates, John Forrest, James Warner.

10th Infantry, three years,—James Burns, corporal; privates, Philieus Bosquet, John Burns, Holly C. Clark, John O'Sullivan, Charles R. Turner.

18th Infantry, three years,—Private, Henry B. Harris.

19th Infantry, three years,—Private, George Blood.

20th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Holly C. Clark, Adelbert N. Messenger, Hubert Moran, Charles R. Turner.

21st Infantry, three years,—John E. Severance, chaplain; private, James Thomas.

26th Infantry, three years,—Private, Abbott M. Messer.

27th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Elisha Allen, Levi Bosquet, Robert H. Macaulay, David Martin, Lester H. Quigley.

30th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Frank Bourne, Orin W. Eldridge, William H. Randall.

31st Infantry, three years,—Truman Lemley, Lorenzo L. Putnam, corporals; privates, George S. Brewster, Isaac Nye, Lorenzo R. Putnam, Charles E. Saninger, Luther A. Simmons.

34th Infantry, three years,—Abram M. Chapman, sergeant; private, Richard Young.

37th Infantry, three years,—Levi Huntley, Charles Ingham, Henry L. Messenger, corporals; privates, George A. Allen, Alexis Baron, Jules Besnecron, James Brown, Lyman Chapel, Holly C. Clark, George J. Daniels, Calvin Goodbox, Paul L. Granger, George King, Walter J. Lester, George Martin, John McNulty, Adellest W. Messenger, Harrison Mills, Herbert Morin, Edward Murphy, James Pecoy, James B. Rudd, Charles Turner, Frederick A. Willis.



57th Infantry, three years,—Private, John O'Sullivan.

61st Infantry, one year.—Privates, Jeremiah Burns, Eugene L. Holmes.

Veteran Reserve Corps,—Edward McDonald, Henry Sterger.

Regular Army,—William Smith.

#### CHESHIRE.

At a town meeting held on the 18th of May, 1861, the selectmen were authorized to "borrow or raise" money to carry out the provisions of the act relative to the payment of State aid to the families of volunteers.

In July, 1862, the selectmen were authorized to pay a bounty of \$100 to each volunteer credited to Cheshire, and in September they were directed to pay the same bounty to nine months' volunteers.

In 1863 the town directed the payment of State aid to the families of drafted men as well as to those of volunteers.

In April, 1864, the town authorized a bounty of \$125 to each volunteer for three years, and in December the selectmen were directed to continue to recruit and pay bounties to fill anticipated quotas. They were also directed to borrow money within the limit of \$10,000.

The ladies of the town furnished for the soldiers in the field many articles of comfort and luxury.

The town raised and disbursed for war expenses \$15,715, and for the payment of State aid, afterward refunded by the commonwealth, \$220.77.

The following is a list of the soldiers that went from Cheshire:

8th Infantry, 100 days,—Private, Samuel P. Whipple.

49th Infantry, nine months,—Henry H. Northrup, commissary sergeant; Daniel B. Foster, 1st lieutenant; Lewis W. Goddard, 1st sergeant; Edwin L. Temple, sergeant; Emery King, Henry H. Northrup, Truman G. Phillips, corporals; privates, Gilbert A. Bristol, John L. Brown, Eugene Canney, Norman Cummings, Edson Downs, William S. Jacques, Abel Jones, John N. Knight, William E. Loomis, James Maclaly, Peter McCann, John McDonald, John H. Olin, Erasmus P. Root, Thomas A. Scott, Michael Silk, Norman W. Stetson, Hezekiah W. Sturtevant, Samuel W. Tift, Thurston Tilton, Cyrus R. Tower, Albert W. Wells, John H. Wells.

2d Heavy Artillery, three years,—Private, Benjamin McMillen.

1st Cavalry, three years,—Arthur H. Brown, sergeant; privates, William J. Appleton, George N. Baxter, William Baxter, James A. Brien, John Suowdon, John V. Willsey, John G. Woodruff.

4th Cavalry, three years,—Private, Thomas Perry.

10th Infantry, three years,—Private, Patrick Callahan.

20th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Abraham Brown, Sylvester Cook, Gilbert W. Dresser.

24th Infantry, three years,—Private, Marson F. E. Briggs.

27th Infantry, three years,—Privates, John W. Allen, Marceline Barrett, John Bulpin, Henry E. Demeranville, Charles W. Leonard, David Rice jr.

28th Infantry, three years,—Private, John P. Noonan.

29th Infantry, three years,—Private, Parker Dwight.

31st Infantry, three years,—Harvey L. Mason, corporal; William Houch, musician; privates, James Bryant, Marshall Clothier, William Clothier, James Dalton, Andrew Katchler, Daniel Marks, John W. Miller, George Rice.





32d Infantry, three years,—Privates, George McNaughton, Selden McNaughton.

34th Infantry, three years,—Privates, George Bass, Erasmus M. Hubbard.

36th Infantry, three years,—Peter Dooley, captain; Peter Dooley, 1st lieutenant; Peter Dooley, 2d lieutenant.

37th Infantry, three years,—Willet H. Couch, Theodore Davis, David D. White, corporals; privates, Joseph Bellevue, James Brown, Scott Hrown, Patrick Clancy, Patrick Dalton, Wilbur F. Dwight, Benjamin F. Eddy, John Grove, Alonzo Harrington, William R. Hathaway, Thomas B. Jenks, William J. Simmons, Henry J. Temple.

57th Infantry, three years,—Private, Augustus Clanguin.

Veteran Reserve Corps.—John Lowe.

#### CLARKSBURG.

At a town meeting in July, 1862, a bounty of one hundred dollars each was voted for five volunteers from Clarksburg.

In August of the same year a bounty of fifty dollars was voted for each nine months' volunteer.

In June, 1864, one hundred and twenty-five dollars was voted as a bounty for each volunteer for three years.

On account of the war \$6,333.73 were paid by the town, and for State aid to soldiers' families the sum of \$3,970.61 was expended.

Clarksburg sent the following soldiers to the field:

8th Infantry, 100 days,—Private, Eugene Clark.

49th Infantry, nine months,—Privates, Augustine Aldrich, Benedict Niles, Warren Parsons, Daniel W. Southwick, Charles A. Wilbur.

13th Battery, Light Artillery, three years,—Privates, Felix Bonaparte, Michael Coffey.

1st Cavalry, three years,—Privates, David S. Clark, Albert L. Thompson.

10th Infantry, three years,—Private, John W. Stafford.

18th Infantry, three years,—Private, Joel Jeffers.

27th Infantry, three years,—Private, Avery J. Deming.

31st Infantry, three years,—Privates, Ira Harris, Maurice Hayes, John J. Satterly.

32d Infantry, three years,—Private, Lewis H. Cheesbro.

34th Infantry, three years,—Private, Ludwig Klahn.

37th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Joel J. Jeffers, Warner Parsons, Giles D. Wilcox.

#### DALTON.

No record appears of any action by this town during 1861 and 1862.

In March, 1863, it voted one thousand dollars toward the expenses of volunteers, and adopted resolutions approving the action of the selectmen in offering bounties during the previous year, and assuming the liabilities which they had thus incurred. In September of the same year the selectmen were authorized to borrow necessary sums of money for war purposes.

In September, 1864, bounties of one hundred and twenty-five dollars were offered for three years' men, in anticipation of a call. Action was



also taken to encourage private subscriptions, and it is believed that ten thousand dollars were thus raised.

The amount appropriated and expended by the town for war purposes was \$3,762.81. The aggregate of State aid was \$3,325.47.

Dalton's soldiers' list is as follows:

8th Infantry, 100 days,—George W. Smith, corporal.

49th Infantry, nine months,—Albert Griswold, corporal; privates, Daniel B. Allen, Isaac N. Allen, Edward Bastion, William M. Bailey, Addison W. Brown, Erastus E. Burnham, George W. Fields, Henry C. Gallup, George H. Hodge, Henry Kelley, Octave Murray, Edward A. Tucker, Rensselaer H. Wilcox.

3d Heavy Artillery, three years,—Lemuel Dunton, wagoner; privates, Martin L. Clark, George E. Tucker.

1st Cavalry, three years,—Wellington Fuller, corporal; privates, Charles H. Gardiner, Jacob Jackley.

2d Infantry, three years,—Private, Michael Fagan.

10th Infantry, three years.—Privates, William N. Babcock, Abram Bidgood, Maurice Casey, John Campbell, Frederick L. Fierro, George Tucker, Daniel W. Tyler.

19th Infantry, three years,—Private, Henry M. Allen.

21st Infantry, three years,—Privates, Orrin Bassett, Solomon Wilcox.

27th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Charles A. Smith, William W. Tucker.

31st Infantry, three years,—Privates, Charles Crowley, Richard Fairbanks, Frederick M. Gardner, Myron L. Gear, Edward Hodge, George W. Newell, Allen Warner.

34th Infantry, three years,—Ensign M. Smith, corporal; privates, Charles F. Bennett, Almon C. Cady, Ira W. Dill, Silas W. Edgerton, John T. Gloyd, Samuel H. Hubbard, Morton Maynard, William F. Newell, James S. Smith, John D. Smith.

37th Infantry, three years,—Private, John Bryant.

57th Infantry, three years,—Henry C. Gallup, corporal; private, Daniel N. Young.

61st Infantry, one year,—Privates, Isaac N. Allen, Frederick C. Kittredge.

1st North Carolina Artillery,—Private, Hall Spicer.

#### EGREMONT.

At the first meeting called in this town to act on matters concerning the war, the treasurer was authorized to borrow \$1,000 for State aid to soldiers' families.

In July, 1862, a bounty of \$125 to each volunteer for three years was authorized, and in August \$100 were offered as a bounty to each volunteer for nine months. Efficient action was taken during this year by private citizens for the encouragement of enlistments.

In 1864 and 1865 full powers were given to the selectmen, and the treasurer was authorized to borrow whatever amounts were necessary to defray expenses.

The amount appropriated and expended for war purposes by the town was \$12,294. For State aid to families of soldiers, reimbursed by the commonwealth, the amount paid was \$4,124.70.





The following from this town were soldiers in the war:

49th Infantry, nine months.—Isaac E. Judd, Robert T. Sherman, 1st lieutenant; Isaac E. Judd, 2d lieutenant; Eugene J. Judd, sergeant; Warren G. Karner, William J. Karner, George H. Palmatier, Edwin Bunce, corporals; privates, George W. Allen, Claudius Bignall, Jonathan Brayne, George Dalzell jr., George Decker, John Decker, John Decker jr., Stewart M. G. Fullerton, William H. Hatch, Norman H. Hollenbeck, Thomas Maclaly, Jeremiah Miller, William Murphy, Albert H. Parsons, David C. Patterson, John Reapy, Charles F. Thatcher, David Van Deusen, Ezra Van Deusen, Levi Van Deusen, William L. Wilbur, George Yager.

12th Battery, Light Artillery, three years.—Private, James Crystal.

2d Cavalry, three years.—Privates, George W. Orcutt, William R. Winchell.

4th Cavalry, three years.—Private, George Dale.

2d Infantry, three years.—Privates, Jerome J. Gorway, Roswell E. Miner.

10th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Charles D. Colburn, George L. Hart, George R. Pendleton, Benjamin F. Remington.

11th Infantry, three years.—Privates, James Blanchard, Leonard Felder.

16th Infantry, three years.—Private, Leonard Felder.

20th Infantry, three years.—Privates, George L. Hart, Benjamin F. Remington.

27th Infantry, three years.—Privates, James H. Allen, Grosvenor Hollenbeck, Norman Kline, Bartlett McDermott.

28th Infantry, three years.—Private, Charles Roseback.

34th Infantry, three years.—Robert J. Gardner, 2d lieutenant; Robert J. Gardner, 1st sergeant; Ephraim B. Church, corporal; privates, Franklin C. Harnstead, John B. Loomis, William B. Stark.

37th Infantry, three years.—Privates, George L. Hart, Duane Hollenbeck, Charles J. Kelsey, Silas Miller, Benjamin F. Remington, Frederick Soules.

57th Infantry, three years.—Jonathan J. Byrne, musician; privates, Robert E. Downing, Stewart M. G. Fullerton.

59th Infantry, three years.—Private, Robert E. Downing.

Veteran Reserve Corps.—Oscar G. Carter, W. H. H. Cook, James Dailey, Michael A. Dillon, Edward Garrity, John K. Harty, Peter Honan, James A. Huff, John Hughes, William H. Lyon, Hiram Wallace, Edwin H. Whitehead.

Regular Army.—George H. Cowdin.

U. S. Colored Troops.—George H. Adams, George H. Bankins, William H. Barnes, John Bell, Danbridge Brooks, James Butler, Richard H. Butler, James L. Caceen, James Cade.

#### FLORIDA.

No action was taken by this town till July, 1863, when a bounty of one hundred dollars was voted to volunteers for three years. In October the same bounty was offered to volunteers for nine months.

In January, 1864, one hundred and twenty-five dollars were voted as a bounty to each recruit for three years, and the selectmen were authorized to borrow money for paying these bounties.

In 1865 they were instructed to recruit and fill all quotas on future calls, and to pay for recruits the same bounty.

The amount of \$4,980 was appropriated and paid on account of the war, and \$2,328.38 for State aid, refunded by the commonwealth.



Florida furnished the following men for the war:

49th Infantry, nine months,—Ralph E. Phelps, corporal; privates, David S. Bloor, Ira Bradley, Ozro P. Brown, William F. Burnett, Henry W. Cain, George S. Clark, Henry Hunt, Levi M. Porter, Albert H. Smith, Josiah Tenney, Chester L. Towse, Sedate Tower.

2d Cavalry, three years,—Private, James Thombley.

12th Infantry, three years,—Private, William M. Smith.

19th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Horace Goodrich, Heinrich C. Roberta.

24th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Albert W. Alden, Irving W. Ballou, George W. Bliss, James Farlong, Benjamin F. Tenney, Houghton Tower.

25th Infantry, three years,—Edward Mealey, corporal.

27th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Harvey E. Bennett, William A. Bradley, Thomas Hare.

31st Infantry, three years,—George W. White, sergeant; privates, Michael Clancy, Michael Pendergast, Chandler Whitney, Charles Witherill.

37th Infantry, three years,—Private, John Carroll.

39th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Charles E. Gifford, Samuel E. Gould, Albert H. Smith, William M. Smith.

Veteran Reserve Corps,—James Birmingham.

1st North Carolina Artillery,—Richard Lane.

#### GREAT BARRINGTON.

In this town a public meeting was held on the 22d of April, 1861, three days after the 6th Massachusetts regiment was attacked in Baltimore. At this meeting patriotic resolutions were adopted, enlistments were made, and \$4,700 were subscribed.

At a town meeting on the 8th of June, 1861, the treasurer was authorized to borrow \$2,000 as a fund for State aid to the families of volunteers, in accordance with the act of the Legislature.

On the 19th of July a bounty of \$100 was authorized for three years volunteers, and on the 28th of August it was voted to pay the same bounty to volunteers for nine months; and in each case the treasurer was authorized to borrow the requisite money.

In 1863 State aid was extended to the families of drafted men, and in June, 1864, the bounty for each three years volunteer was fixed at \$125.

A Soldiers' Aid Society was formed by the ladies of the town in 1861, and it continued its benevolent and efficient labors till the close of the war.

The town expended on war account \$25,691.82, and for State aid to the families of soldiers, reimbursed by the State, \$19,500.20.

The following named men from Great Barrington took part in the war for the preservation of the Union:

8th Infantry, 100 days.—Private, Richard A. Birge.

46th Infantry, nine months.—Private, Patrick Daley.

49th Infantry, nine months.—Samuel B. Sumner, lieutenant-colonel; Samuel B. Sumner, Samuel J. Chaffee, captains; Joseph Tackett, 1st lieutenant; Samuel J. Chaffee, Henry G. Morry, George Reed, Thomas Siggins, 2d lieutenants; William S. Gilbert, George Reed, 1st sergeants; James K. Parker, Henry W. Munro, Henry G.





Morey, Guy C. Ray, sergeants, Henry A. Bristol, John A. Drisser, John W. Evans, Thomas H. Hughes, Edward Toby, Lewis Ward, corporals; James Van Deusen, musician; privates, James H. Adams, Alpheus H. Bailey, George Bills, Samuel C. Bills, Adelbert M. Brainard, William E. Bump, John W. Burghardt, John Campion, Clarence C. Chapin, Charles G. Church, Charles F. Coffing, Artemas R. Comstock, Marcus A. Dearing, Milo Decker, Edmund Deland, Frederick N. Deland, Patrick Delevanny, John Donahue, Frederick Earles, John W. Fitzgerald, Charles H. French, Franklin W. Harmon, Davis Hecox, Thomas Hensey, Edwin N. Hubbard, Herbert C. Joyner, Francis Joray, George Kalbe, Almerin S. Latham, Sidney H. Latham, Horace H. Lewis, Arthur A. Loop, Lyman A. Loring, Charles B. Luddington, Edwin C. Luddington, James H. Luddington, Henry Luka, James McGrath, James McGowen, Richard H. Moore, James Mullaly, Dwight S. Nathleton, Henry Newmaster, James P. Phillips, Legrand Ramsey, Mills S. Reynolds, James B. Rogers, John Ryan, Enos Seymour, James A. Seymour, Benjamin Shelley, Clarence W. Shutts, Thomas Siggins, Lorenzo D. Tatt, John Thomas, Albert S. Warner, Charles Weyants, Bradford B. Wilcox, Edward H. Wilcox, George W. Wilcox, Henry F. Wilcox, Isaac V. Wilcox, John Winchell.

14th Battery, Light Artillery, three years,—Private, Alonzo F. Briggs.

2d Heavy Artillery, three years,—Edwin C. Hurlburt corporal; privates, Henry Abbott jr., James W. Barry, John W. Beckwith, Morris W. Bennett, William Broderick, Lewis Buckley, Charles A. Corey, Orange Damon, Robert Ellis, Thomas Farrell, Franklyn L. Griffin, Samuel E. Griffin, John Kelley, Michael McGowan, Thomas S. McKenna, Joseph K. Nixon, James H. Rogers, Edward Smith.

29th Unattached Heavy Artillery, one year,—Private, John Waldron.

1st Cavalry, three years,—Timothy Pelton, corporal; privates, Donald Broderick, Eli Bushnell, Leon Durhelme, Wesley Ford, William Ford, William Hasson, James Johnson, Frank Lutsinger, Edward J. Mallory, George Mallory, John McDonough, Charles McCarty, Angel H. Ray, Dwight B. Seever, William Steele, John Suppenaugh.

4th Cavalry, three years,—Sheldon Leavitt jr., 1st lieutenant; Sheldon Leavitt jr., 2d lieutenant; private, Peter N. Remhold.

5th Cavalry, three years,—Timothy Pelton, 2d lieutenant; George Luma, farrier; privates, Othello Jackson, John McArthur.

1st Infantry, three years,—Private, Curtis W. Gove.

2d Infantry, three years,—Private, Joseph McCardhill.

10th Infantry, three years,—Ralph O. Ives, captain; James M. Bacon, 1st lieutenant; Henry L. Wilcox, 2d lieutenant; Charles A. Gilmore, principal musician; Melancthon B. Beach, Daniel J. Bishop, sergeants; George Warner, wagoner; privates, William R. Bradley, Alfred F. Couch, Owen Cummings, Edward Dennis, Luman Dennis, Charles Fugherty, Charles A. Gilmore, Daniel Haggerty, George H. Holmes, Francis M. Ives, Lawrence Killela, William Levy, Edward J. Mallory, Lafayette Markham, James R. Olds, Calvin Peaseley, Thomas Pugh, Benjamin F. Remington, Alonzo Seamer, Thomas Welch.

11th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Edward Adams, Thomas Foley, William A. Leonard, George W. Phillips.

12th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Edward A. Strong, Pratt V. Strong.

16th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Edward Adams, Abram Ferguson, William A. Leonard, George W. Phillips.



17th Infantry, three years.—Robert Ellis, Thomas S. McKenney, corporals; privates, Henry Abbott jr., James W. Barry, William Broderick, Charles A. Corey, Thomas Farrell, John Kelley, Edward Smith.

19th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Robert Farrell, Thomas Harrington, Patrick Higgins, Jacob Jenner, John Lynch, Charles Smith.

20th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Lafayette Markham, David Wemyx.

24th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Wilbur H. Bille, Stephen Johns, Ebenezer F. Thayer.

26th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Hiram Powers, John Weston.

27th Infantry, three years.—Samuel Camp, assistant surgeon; Richard J. Bush, Otto L. Stamm, 2d lieutenants; George W. Brewer, Richard J. Bush, sergeants; Washington L. Burghardt, Frederick A. Robbins, Otto L. Stamm, corporals; privates, Nelson Adams, Daniel F. Andrews, Elijah Andrews, Henry C. Bacon, Henry L. Barnum, George W. Brewer, Charles W. Cogswell, Gilbert C. Comstock, John W. Gilmer, John Griffin, James M. Hamlin, William Hecox, Joseph W. Hundley, Thomas Jones, Nelson E. Knapp, Charles Mastern, Dennis McDonough, Peter H. Pixley, Edward R. Pynchon, Frederick A. Robbins, George H. Rossiter, Peter Royal, John R. Ryan, Jonas Scott, Benjamin W. F. Smith, William Smith, Reuben J. Strong, Alfred C. Turner, Frank S. Turner, Anthony Wackel.

28th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Curtis Deland, Patrick O'Neill.

30th Infantry, three years.—Private, Leonard Duford.

31st Infantry, three years.—William H. Pelton, 1st lieutenant; William H. Pelton, 2d lieutenant; William H. Pelton, 1st sergeant; Charles T. Phillips, sergeant; George Howes, corporal; privates, Charles E. Bradbrim, John Buckley, Lockwood Cary, Dwight Collins, John Doland, John Drew, John L. Hall, Frank Miller, John E. Moore, Charles T. Phillips, Ami Ray, William Schutt, Frank Seley, Henry Sherry, Ebenezer F. Thayer, Jeremiah Thomas, Robert Van Deusen, George Wagner, Gilbert P. Warfield, Warren D. Wheeler, William Wooding, John Wolfinger.

32d Infantry, three years.—Private, Edward A. Strong.

33d Infantry, three years.—Private, Joseph McCardell.

34th Infantry, three years.—Eugene Renne, corporal; privates, William Dennis, George W. Hicox, Miles Lawrence, Charles F. Parsons.

36th Infantry, three years.—Private, William L. Renef.

37th Infantry, three years.—Edwin Hurlburt, captain; Richard H. Taylor, 1st lieutenant, 2d lieutenant, 1st sergeant; William H. Dunning, Martin Schemmerhorn, George A. Seeley, sergeants; George J. Pineo, Erastus Strickland, corporals; Timothy Pelton, musician; privates, Thomas Barns, Stephen H. Billings, Henry Brewer, Charles P. Burzitt, James Casey, Patrick Cleary, Buel Gleason, Edwin P. Gleason, Miles P. Gleason, John W. Graham, Colonel D. Halsey, Nathan W. Halsey, Elijah P. Hatch, William H. L'Hommedieu, Charles H. Loomis, Lafayette Markham, Charles C. Martin, Arthur McConnel, Christopher Miller, John Moore, Richard E. Morgan, James H. Olds, George W. Orcutt, Egbert Pexley, John H. Prime, George W. Sherman, John Shelley, Richard Shea, John Smith, Egbert Turner, Jacob Van Bramer, John Walcott, David Wemyx.

39th Infantry, three years.—Private, Edward A. Strong.

40th Infantry, three years.—Jonathan Case, assistant surgeon.

54th Infantry, three years.—Ralph B. Gardiner, David H. Van Allen, corporals; privates, John K. Ferris, Franklin Gover, Abraham A. Jackson, Francis J. Jackson.





James H. Jackson, Levi H. Jackson, William A. Stephens, Jacob H. Thomas, Charles P. Thompson, Edward H. Williams.

56th Infantry, three years,—Private William L. Ronel.

57th Infantry, three years,—Henry G. Prout, hospital steward; privates, Charles W. Bills, Henry Bills, Wilber H. Bills, Lockwood Cary, John Hughes, Jacob Kithy, William Maloney, Henry G. Prout, Lester W. Rawson, George W. Shue, Michael Shelley, Joseph Soudant, Silas C. Swift, Almond C. Townsend, George W. Wilcox.

58th Infantry, three years,—Lewis D. Lyford, musician; private, John Mealy.

61st Infantry, one year.—Privates, Frank S. Atkinson, Charles Brooks, Stephen Golding, Charles Oliver, Samuel P. Stone, James Wood.

Veteran Reserve Corps,—Privates, William B. Bessom, Lewis Bower, Jarvis Chase, Charles H. Chellis, Francis Creigh, James Gibleurs, George Harteracio, James Harkins, Charles F. Hovey, Frederick Janson, Patrick Lahy, James Liddy, Horace Mann, Albert Ramsdell, Jacob H. Ramsdell, Edward St. Lawrence.

Regular Army,—Edwin Taylor, Daniel Thompson.

U. S. Colored Troops,—Henry Curtis, Alwise Dickinson, Ferdinand Dickinson, Daniel Holmes, Tascar Holmes, Joseph Lloyd, James Sexton, George C. Shorter, George W. Thomas, John H. Thomas, John T. Watts.

#### HANCOCK.

The first town meeting in Hancock for the consideration of war matters was held on the 25th of July, 1862. At that meeting \$900 were appropriated to pay nine volunteers, the number called for, bounties of \$100 each. The selectmen were also authorized to bestow State aid on the families of soldiers. In September a bounty of \$200 each was authorized for nine months' volunteers.

In August, 1864, the town voted to pay a bounty of \$125 to each volunteer for three years, and the same amount to any one procuring a substitute previous to a draft. Thus the bounties continued to the end of the war.

The ladies in this town sent to the soldiers in the field, in hospitals, or elsewhere many articles of comfort during the continuance of the war.

The amount expended on account of the war was \$9,455; for State aid, refunded by the State, \$1,140 41.

The following is Hancock's soldiers' list:

49th Infantry, nine months,—Charles J. Hazard, sergeant; A. A. Grant, corporal; privates, William H. Bailey, Albert C. Brockway, Franklin Brooks, William A. Johnson, Edward A. Landon, Alanson Lewis, Joseph Marshall, August Weise, Charles H. Wells.

1st Cavalry, three years,—Private, Daniel Brouwalder.

2d Cavalry, three years,—Private, Samuel S. Estes.

3d Cavalry, three years,—Private, Charles B. Simonds.

18th Infantry, three years,—Private, George H. Miller.

20th Infantry, three years,—Private, Sylvester Slow.

24th Infantry, three years,—Henry Sawyer, corporal; private, Albert P. Wilkin-

son.

31st Infantry, three years,—Private, Lorenzo D. Bailey.



34th Infantry, three years,—Franklin W. Holl, sergeant; Thomas J. Phillips, corporal; privates, Henry D. Brockway, George A. Carlton, Robert G. Kirke, Marshall C. Knapp, Barney McFeeley, Henry Sawyer, Dexter Taylor, James R. Taylor, Caleb S. Vickery.

57th Infantry, three years,—James H. Marshall, 1st sergeant; Charles W. Vickery, sergeant; James K. Chambers, corporal; privates, Henry C. Chapman, Ralph Chapman, Albert Doty, Horace O. Gardner, Henry Stock.

61st Infantry, one year,—Privates, George H. Cowan, Erasmus D. Rose, Daniel A. Sedgewick, Enoch W. Sedgewick.

Veteran Reserve Corps,—Joseph Backoff.

#### HINSDALE.

This town on the 10th of May, 1861, appropriated two thousand dollars to be used for war purposes at the discretion of the selectmen.

In October, 1862, four thousand one hundred and fifty dollars were appropriated for bounties.

In April, 1863, one thousand three hundred dollars were voted for recruiting expenses, and in April, 1864, one thousand two hundred and eighty-five dollars were appropriated for the same purpose.

A year later, or in April, 1865, citizens who had subscribed to defray the expenses of raising volunteers were, by vote of the town, reimbursed to the amount of four thousand two hundred and eighty-nine dollars and three cents.

The ladies of the town furnished supplies of garments and money, aside from their labor, to the amount of three hundred and fifty dollars.

The total expenditure on account of the war was \$19,000.82. The amount raised and expended for State aid to enlisted men's families was \$6,045.78.

The town furnished the following men for the war:

8th Infantry, 100 days,—Privates, Oliver W. Palmer, Frank M. Pierce, Michael Shay, David Tobin, Francis M. Watkins, Robert D. Wyte.

60th Infantry, 100 days,—Privates, Abraham W. Goodrich, Andrew S. Hodge.

49th Infantry, nine months,—Edward P. Nash, sergeant; John Dwyer, Milo Spring, Francis E. Warner, corporals; privates, Theodore Barnes, John W. Bowles, Alvin L. Clark, Timothy Connor, John L. Cook, Lawrence Farrall, Matthew Farley, Sedgewick Fay, John W. Hummell, Henry T. Johns, Frederick Kittredge, Waldo C. Leland, Lyman Mack, Homer O. Mason, John Noble, Joseph Stevens, Henry E. Stowell, David Tobin.

1st Heavy Artillery, three years,—John M. Brown, corporal.

2d Heavy Artillery, three years,—Privates, Alfred A. Dunham, John J. Harrington, John Loonley, James O'Brien.

2d Cavalry, three years,—Private, Henry Windell.

4th Cavalry, three years,—Private, Herbert L. Howland.

5th Cavalry, three years,—William Michaels, sergeant; privates, James P. Davis, Johnson Jefferson, John E. Johnson, Robert Miner, Robert Sullivan.

1st Battalion, Frontier Cavalry, one year,—Privates, Jesse Dispeaux, William Gollway.





2d Infantry, three years,—Privates, Michael Coleman, Charles Dill, Edward G. Farman, John Walker.

10th Infantry, three years,—Michael S. Hogan, 1st sergeant; Clifton L. Roll, corporal; Andrew Walker, musician; privates, Sylvester W. Allen, James Curry, Monroe Emmons, William E. Gilbert, Richard Rafter, James M. Shaw.

12th Infantry, three years,—Private, John I. Scott.

15th Infantry, three years.—Private, Francis M. Watkins.

17th Infantry, three years.—Private, John Goggin.

19th Infantry, three years.—Privates, William A. Hearne, Samuel K. Watkins.

20th Infantry, three years.—George S. Clark, sergeant; privates, Sylvester W. Allen, William Babcock, Benjamin Jones, Thomas J. Kendall.

24th Infantry, three years.—Privates, John O'Reilly, Joseph H. Stevens.

27th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Charles A. Como, Joseph Dyer, George Gilmore, Charles W. Stebbins.

28th Infantry, three years.—Private, Albert F. Jones.

31st Infantry, three years.—Privates, Peter V. Allen, Rodolphus Allen, Robert Armstrong, John B. Brewster, Philip E. Gilmore, Paul Hackett, Nelson Herrick, John Owens, Orlando W. Palmer, John Scott.

34th Infantry, three years.—Privates, John P. Bambush, Samuel F. Buck, John Owen, David G. Smith, George A. Smith, Joseph Stephens, Harlow P. Stowell.

37th Infantry, three years.—Private, Sylvester W. Allen.

54th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Lorenzo S. Duncan, John T. Grant, Frank Hamilton, Frank Hamilton 2d, Henry Hamilton, Charles W. Potter, Freeman Thompson.

57th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Joseph Bartrand, Joseph Benois, Moses Bertrand, Lewis Brotgers, Lyman Bryant, Levi B. Bushnell, Stephen F. Bush, Charles W. Day, Joseph Deargenon, Julius Dougall, Joseph Fortin, Russell Hastings, Peter Labombard, Frank Laley, Frank Lashua, James Leslie, James Lowe, Jacob Meatte, James Norway, Louis Reno, Merwin Rowe, Charles Saburan, Joseph A. Syncyr.

58th Infantry, three years.—Privates, William Nickerson, George E. Pellow.

Veteran Reserve Corps,—Hugh Byrne, William O'Brien.

Regular Army,—John Halpin, Timothy Hurley, James Kelley.

#### LANESBORO.

At the first town meeting held for the consideration of war matters, held December 10th, 1861, the selectmen of Lanesboro were authorized to expend money at their discretion for the relief of soldiers' families. In August of the next year the town authorized a bounty of one hundred dollars to each volunteer for three years, or nine months.

In April, 1864, the town voted to pay a bounty of one hundred and twenty-five dollars to each volunteer for three years, and this arrangement was continued until the close of the war.

The expenditure in Lanesboro on the war account amounted to \$12,947.91. In addition to this a considerable amount was raised by private means. The total amount of \$3,856.45 was expended for aid to volunteers' families, and afterward repaid by the State.

The soldiers' list of Lanesboro is as follows:

8th Infantry, 100 days,—Private, George B. Powell.



49th Infantry, nine months,—George E. Howard, quartermaster sergeant; Henry S. Burbank, George E. Howard, sergeants; Elihu Bliss, Hiram Burlingham, Isaac Nourse, Samuel H. Rossiter, David Winchell, George M. Wood, Oliver L. Wood, corporals; privates, William Ashburn, James Heckley, Henry Hille, William Bang, John Callahan, George Dowley, Albert S. Farnam, Alfred Farnam, Garrett Fitzgerald, Charles R. Fuller, Myron Goodell, Thomas Green, Henry G. Griffin, Conant Heins, Daniel Leman, John Lyman, Williams McDaniel, Anson S. Middlebrook, John Stevens.

1st Heavy Artillery, three years,—Private, Henry Nelson.

3d Heavy Artillery, three years,—Privates, Charles H. Aldrich, Peter Carroll, Martin Lannin.

1st Cavalry, three years,—Daniel R. Hines, farmer; privates, William Baskin, Calvin Carpenter, Andrew J. Gabler, Wilmot J. Joslyn, John Lyman, Edward Mc—, Russell Munson, Edward Williams.

2d Cavalry, three years,—Privates, John H. Adams, John W. Gibbs, Judson A. Herman, Thomas Monroe.

3d Cavalry, three years,—Private Charles H. Grant.

5th Cavalry, three years,—Sylvester Moores, corporal.

1st Battalion, Frontier Cavalry, one year,—Frank V. Parker, corporal; Robert R. Tulin, bagler.

2d Infantry, three years,—Privates, George W. Ackley, Peter Bradley, John Cavanaugh, Wellington H. Turner, Charles Wilson.

10th Infantry, three years,—Private, Henry Noble.

19th Infantry, three years,—Private, Ervin Smith.

20th Infantry, three years,—Edwin B. Mead, corporal; privates, Charles Brown, John Cleary, Edward Laro, Manton A. Wood.

21st Infantry, three years,—Private, Edwin A. Hinckley.

23d Infantry, three years,—Private, John B. Norton.

26th Infantry, three years,—Private, George F. Bayard.

27th Infantry, three years,—Private, Martin Gaitley.

31st Infantry, three years,—Privates, John Cummings, David McDaniels, Edward Pettit, Ralph Wolfran.

34th Infantry, three years,—Privates, James F. Brodie, Henry G. Hines, Faltine Lafe, Charles E. Mason, Robert Morton, Joshua Phillips, Hugh Stuart.

37th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Samuel P. Beers, Henry Bretcher, William T. Carpenter, John Cummings, Edward Law.

57th Infantry, three years,—Myron Goodell, sergeant; privates, Patrick Heveron, William McDaniels.

61st Infantry, three years,—Private, John Ragan.

Regular Army,—Henry Bricken, Robert Fleming.

#### LEE.

On the 4th of May, 1861, a town meeting to consider war matters was held in Lee. At that meeting it was resolved to enroll, at once, a company of sixty four men, to be ready for a call into the service, and the selectmen were authorized to borrow three thousand dollars and to procure a drill room.

In April, 1862, the selectmen were authorized to borrow money for





aiding the families of volunteers. In July of the same year a bounty of \$100 to each volunteer for three years was voted, and the selectmen were authorized to borrow \$3,700 to pay these bounties. In August it was voted to pay the same bounty to volunteers for nine months.

In July, 1863, the selectmen were authorized to borrow money for State aid, and in September of that year it was voted to raise \$7,247.52 to settle bounties.

In 1864 the bounty for three years' volunteers was fixed at \$125, and so continued till the close of the war. The selectmen were also authorized to borrow money and continue recruiting.

The citizens of Lee contributed large sums of money to encourage recruiting, and the town expended on account of the war \$21,654.56. The amount raised for State aid, reimbursed by the commonwealth, was \$20,776.46.

The ladies of Lee contributed \$470.10 in cash, and more than that amount in supplies for the soldiers in the field, in hospitals, etc.

The men named in the subjoined list went from Lee to fight the battles of the Union :

8th Infantry, 100 days,—Privates, Clark D. Blood, Richard Wheeler.

49th Infantry, nine months,—Benjamin A. Morey, Augustus V. Shannon, Byron Weston, captains ; Leroy S. Kellogg, 1st lieutenant ; DeWitt S. Smith, 2d lieutenant ; Chauncey T. Bliss, Albert P. Silva, 1st sergeants ; Mills J. Bowditch, Edward McDonald, Elias H. Murray, Gustavus A. Phelps, sergeants ; George T. Bradley, John M. Fuller, William Hess, William Odenwaldt, Lucius W. Wright, corporals ; Albert J. Morey, hospital steward ; George S. Baker, bugler ; John McGinty, Horatio E. Murray, musicians ; privates, Austin A. Alexander, DeWitt C. Beach, Henry L. Beach, Lourence Bower, Dennis Burke, George Cady, George B. Chapin, George Cline, Henry A. Collins, George H. Comstock, Luke S. Dennison, Alphonzo Foote, William F. Fuller, George Gregory, Henry R. Harrington, Edmund Hatch, Orrin Halet, Eugene Ingersoll, Michael Keough, William C. Kittredge, Harvey Loomis, Thomas McDonough, Benjamin F. Morse, Thomas Norton, Michael T. O'Donnell, George Osborn, George Potter, Homer Rowe, John Saviner, George H. Stone, George E. Sturgis, James S. Steadman, Oscar D. Street, John Vincent, Herman Vossburg, James Ward, Ezra A. D. Wilson, John J. Wolfinger.

9th Battery, Light Artillery, three years,—Private, Michael Sheehan.

2d Heavy Artillery, three years,—Privates, Daniel Harrington, Roland R. Joslyn, Alfred Mitchell, John Vincent.

3d Heavy Artillery, three years,—Private Benjamin L. Ross.

1st Cavalry, three years,—Privates, Joseph W. Blake, Henry J. Bliss, Peter Cook, Henry M. Evans, Charles H. Groesbeck, Alfred J. Hunt, John Lee, David Owens, Richard W. Stedman.

2d Cavalry, three years,—Privates, James Anderson, William Brown, Henry Carleton, John Casey, William Clarkson, Adam Hart, Jacob Krumm, John Lee, Charles Mayer, John Radcliffe, John Riley, James Roach, James Ward, August Whitman.

3d Cavalry, three years,—Rufus A. Lovering, sergeant ; Lucas A. Nickerson, corporal ; privates, William Corse, Timothy Crane, Clarence O. Poland.





4th Cavalry, three years,—Franklin H. Porter, corporal; privates, Charles H. Carr, James Galloway, Henry E. Hill, John King, Joseph H. McQuire, James C. Priest, William Stone.

5th Cavalry, three years,—Privates, George R. W. Chadwell, Frederick B. Randolph, John Thompson.

1st Battalion, Frontier Cavalry, one year,—Solomon R. Atwood, quartermaster sergeant; Charles A. Cole, sergeant; John J. Searle, corporal.

2d Infantry, three years,—Adam Miller, 1st lieutenant; Adam Miller, 2d lieutenant; William L. White, 1st sergeant; Horatio L. Cobb, musician; privates, Marvin Backus, Milton G. Bishop, Thomas Craggy, William H. Daniels, John Duffy, Thomas Dunn, George W. Fenner, Robert Ford, Michael Garvey, Roscoe F. Houghton, Gilbert B. Ingraham, William Johnson, John Knowles, John Ledy, John M. Leonard, Asher Livingston, John McCarty, William McDonald, Adam Miller, Addison C. Miner, Thomas Rafterty, Richard Rine, William Ryan, Egbert Sanger, Heinrich Wilkins, John Willard, Alexander C. Wilson, Melvin A. Woodward.

10th Infantry, three years,—John W. Nye, 1st sergeant; Varnum Buzzell, sergeant; Orville E. Cutting, Marshall A. Hines, Kenan Ryan, corporals; Charles A. Peters, musician; privates, Henry Cadry, William H. Clapp, Franklin Dawley, John Donovan, Crowell Fairchild, Charles A. Gates, Robert Hewitt, Robert Keenan, John H. Merrill, John W. Primey, William Wheeler, Henry Woodward.

11th Infantry, three years,—Private, Homer G. Williams.

16th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Edward Kelsey, Homer G. Williams.

17th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Michael Casey, Daniel Harrington, Roland R. Joslyn.

18th Infantry, three years,—Private, Patrick Keiley.

20th Infantry, three years,—Orville E. Cutting, sergeant.

21st Infantry, three years,—Privates, John R. Claffin, George Lemley, Richard Wheeler.

24th Infantry, three years.—Private, Fabian A. Fortier.

26th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Henry Chambers, Simeon Grow, Heinrich Tauge.

27th Infantry, three years,—Luther J. Bradley, captain; Luther J. Bradley, 1st lieutenant; Luther J. Bradley, Edgar H. Coombs, 2d lieutenants; Edgar H. Coombs, 1st sergeant; Charles O. Benedict, Eldad E. Moore, corporals; privates, Sylvador Beach, Charles O. Benedict, George H. Benedict, John G. Bickley, Milton J. Brooklin, Albert B. Champlin, Samuel S. Chapman, Harvey De Forrest, Charles Dennison, Elijah Dennison, Hugh Dolan, James Dolan, Henry Fisher, Charles A. Gates, Henry A. Gifford, Norman L. Gifford, Owen Hulitt, Edward A. Jackson, Patrick Kenny, Dennis McDonough, Thomas Norton, Charles L. Nye, George W. Parrish, John R. Ryan, Hiram Sheffield, Edward Smith, Charles A. Tucker, Thomas J. Turney, James Ward, Edwin P. Wheeler, Amos F. Whittaker, Franklin Williams.

31st Infantry, three years,—Benjamin F. Morey, captain; Benjamin F. Morey, 1st lieutenant; John Harrington, sergeant; privates, Chester Bevens, Clark D. Blood, Thomas Burnick, Patrick Casey, William H. Cogswell, William Curtain, Delbert Deland, Benjamin Donnelly, Frederick Donnelly, John Donnelly, Owen Flannigan, Henry F. Harding, Dexter V. Harrington, John Hecker, Lyman J. Ingram, Horace Lumley, George McElroy, John Millard, Charles H. Rathbun, William Ross, Henry Smith, Daniel Washburn.





33d Infantry, three years,—Private, Thomas Wilson.

34th Infantry, three years.—Private, Stephen E. Gifford.

37th Infantry, three years,—George H. Hyde, Franklin W. Pease, captains; John S. Bradley, George H. Hyde, Julius H. Reed, Albert C. Sparks, 1st lieutenants; John S. Bradley, George H. Hyde, P. Woodbridge Morgan, Julius H. Reed, Albert C. Sparks, 2d lieutenants; John W. Nye, sergeant major; John S. Bradley, Charles W. Freeman, John W. Nye, Julius H. Reed, 1st sergeants; Orville E. Cutting, Albert C. Sparks, sergeants; George Albee, James F. Allen, Jay S. Bliss, Martin H. Bliss, Martin Conners, Noah M. Freeman, William H. Hinckley, Lewis W. Spofford, corporals; John McCann, wagoner; privates, George F. Bidwell, George C. Bliss, Quinton F. Bliss, Dwight P. Bradley, Edward W. Coope, John A. Durant, William Foley, William H. Henderson, William I. Johnson, Michael Keyes, William Keyes, John Millerd, Patrick Mohan, Charles E. Morey, George F. Phinney, William Smith, Charles M. Taylor, John Tierney, Sylvester Van Duyn, Thomas Whalen.

54th Infantry, three years,—Aaron Spencer, corporal; privates, Henry F. Burghardt, George M. Pell, James E. Sharts, William H. Sharts.

56th Infantry, three years,—Private, George Lemley.

57th Infantry, three years,—Charles E. Moore, corporal; privates, John H. Casey, Henry A. Collins, Orrin Hewitt, Egbert S. Jacquins, Alfred McDonald, Patrick McDonough, John H. Merrill, James Richards, James S. Steadman, Wesley R. Williams.

Veteran Reserve Corps,—Herman F. Feldgren, John B. Foster, Benjamin B. Gardener, John Stickleman, Alexander C. Wilson.

#### LENOX.

A town meeting was held in Lenox on the 6th of May, 1861, at which patriotic resolutions were adopted, and the sum of \$2,000 was appropriated to arm, equip, and discipline the militia of the town, and \$5 per month, in addition to government pay, were pledged to volunteers.

During 1862 \$4,000 were appropriated for bounties and State aid, and bounties of \$100 were authorized for volunteers, both for three years and nine months.

In 1863 \$1,500 were appropriated for aid to soldiers' families, and \$300 were voted to each drafted man who had paid his commutation.

In April, 1864, \$1,200 were appropriated for State aid. In May the selectmen were authorized to pay \$125 each to those who furnished substitutes to the credit of the town, and in June they were authorized to reimburse those who had contributed money to encourage enlistments. They were also authorized to borrow \$3,000 for bounties.

In 1865 \$3,800 were appropriated for State aid, and at a meeting in June of that year a vote was passed to reimburse citizens who had contributed to aid recruiting.

A Ladies' Aid Society existed in the town during the continuance of the war.

The amount expended by Lenox on war account was \$14,642.57, and for State aid \$2,666.15; and the town furnished soldiers as follows:

8th Infantry, 100 days,—Private, John Broderick.





49th Infantry, nine months,—Thomas Buck, Crowell H. Brooks, Ogden H. Planke, sergeants; Henry R. Tucker, Henry W. Wade, Amos Whittaker, corporals; privates, Charles G. Bangs, Morris Barry, Henry J. Bliss, Michael Brodenick, James B. Bull, Willard L. Burkett, Peter Come, Thomas Connors, John H. Curtis, Hiram Farling, John Godson, William Hogan, William Hunt, John Mason, Henry Miller, Isaac J. Newton, Theron F. Plinker, Edwin W. Parsons, William H. Pinnons, Solomon E. Peck, Daniel A. Sedgwick, Alexander Smith, Antolne Steinharti, Benjamin D. Wade, Charles E. Wink.

52d Infantry, nine months,—Henry M. Sabine, assistant surgeon.

2d Battery, Light Artillery, three years,—Private, Hugh Riordan.

2d Heavy Artillery, three years,—Privates, Charles E. A. ———, John Thompson.

1st Cavalry, three years,—Privates, Luke McGrath, William R. Sterritt.

2d Cavalry, three years,—Private, Barnes E. Carey.

3d Cavalry, three years,—Privates, Michael Doyle, William M. Hubby.

5th Cavalry, three years, Privates, Alexander Adams, Alfred Michael.

2d Infantry, three years,—William D. Sedgwick, 1st lieutenant; Arthur J. Bliven, sergeant; Daniel Reardon, corporal; private, Charles J. Bliven.

10th Infantry, three years. Mark H. Cottrell, 1st lieutenant; Mark H. Cottrell, 1st sergeant; privates, Elbridge Collamer, Henry P. Hines, William L. Jennie, Charles W. Perry.

18th Infantry, three years,—Benjamin F. Hastings, assistant surgeon.

19th Infantry, three years,—Privates, David Cole, Hugo Fenniger, John Larkin, Julius Schoder.

21st Infantry, three years,—Privates, Ransom Bailey, Albert H. Northrop.

27th Infantry, three years,—Frank Hurst, Amos D. Whittaker, 2d lieutenant; privates, Charles S. Coleman, John King, George Manning, Augustus S. Mattos, John McDonough.

31st Infantry, three years,—Charles J. Wade, 2d lieutenant; Chauncey W. Smith, sergeant; Chauncey W. Smith, corporal; privates, James Anderson, Albert D. Cook, Lewis E. Collins, John Hall, John Lassure, James Miles, Darius See, Henry D. Thomas, Charles J. Wade.

34th Infantry, three years,—Oliver Cottrell, corporal; privates, Patrick Cummings, William E. Donnelly, William Doren, Joseph Fisher, Jacob Martin, Henry R. McCulloch, Elijah Plass, Joseph M. Sherman, Patrick Shields.

36th Infantry, three years,—Private, Jerry Lahce.

37th Infantry, three years,—Edward M. Reynolds, wagoner; privates, John Kearsley, John Mahoney, John S. McKibbin, Samuel H. Myers, William H. Sheffield, Joseph Stumph, Garrett H. Whittaker.

54th Infantry, three years,—Henry J. Carter, sergeant; privates, Jacob Adams, John Hall, Thomas Jackson, Charles F. Patterson, George G. Peters, Edward Torrat, Peter H. Pruyn, Charles Van Allen, John E. Vashburgh, George F. Weyman, Samuel Weaver.

55th Infantry, three years,—Private, Charles M. Hollen.

57th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Thomas Henry, William H. Jenne, James Larkins, Saybrook Lee, Daniel Morrill, William A. Spaulding.

58th Infantry, three years,—Edward Brown, sergeant; privates, John Crook, Walter Hammett, James Hartley, George Holbrook.





61st Infantry, three years,—Edward J. Petry, corporal; privates, William E. Bucknam, Franklin Carpenter, Alonzo Clark, William H. Drown, Charles D. Maine, John Menning, Henry N. Merry.

Veteran Reserve Corps,—Noble Carrothers, Obed Coffin, William McGrady.

#### MONTEREY.

On the 31st of July, 1862, the first war town meeting was held in Monterey. At that meeting the selectmen were authorized to pay a bounty of one hundred and ten dollars each to ten volunteers for three years, to fill the quota of the town. Mr. John D. Bidwell paid to each of these ten volunteers, from his own means, ten dollars. The selectmen paid to each of the volunteers for nine months a bounty of one hundred dollars, and at a town meeting October 21st the town ratified their action.

In March, 1863, the selectmen were directed to continue aid to the families of volunteers, and in November they were instructed to give such aid to the families of those who had died in the service, also to the families of drafted men.

In June, 1864, twenty-five hundred dollars were appropriated to promote recruiting, and the selectmen were authorized to pay two hundred and fifty dollars to each man who should procure a substitute to the draft of the town. Five men procured such substitutes.

In this town, as in many others, the ladies did their part in furnishing clothing and other necessary articles for the soldiers.

The town expended on account of the war \$3,848.44; and for State aid \$3,030.65. It also furnished soldiers as follows:

49th Infantry, nine months,—John Doolittle, 2d lieutenant; John Doolittle, sergeant; Philander B. Chadwick, Charles J. Townsend, corporals; George E. Thompson, musician; privates, George W. Alexander, Miles S. Beach, John W. Bidwell, Charles W. Brett, Stever W. Carley, Miles H. Carle, Solomon Dawd, Waldo R. Fargo, Levi H. Gilmer, Moses Harmon, Thomas M. Judd, Lewis Mosely, Laurence Mosely, Henry Morrison, Edward F. Petry, Curtis Pomeroy, Maxwell Pomeroy, John S. Sears, Harmon Sperry, Sheridan W. Thompson, Henry W. Wright.

10th Infantry, three years,—Allan S. Mansir, 1st lieutenant; privates, Albert F. Fargo, Chester B. Scudder, George Shelters.

12th Infantry, three years,—Private, James H. Maxwell.

20th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Philo H. Dowd, Henry R. Heath.

27th Infantry, three years,—Otto L. Staum, sergeant; privates, Edward Church, Roswell D. Cobb, Alonzo H. Conklin, Samuel Day, Egbert P. Garfield, John H. Hewitt, James M. Kenny, Peter King, Judson A. Potter, Sylvester Root, James E. Thompson, William M. Tymeson.

31st Infantry, three years,—Clinton A. Tyrrell, hospital steward; privates, George Bishop, Clinton A. Tyrrell.

32d Infantry, three years,—James H. Maxwell, corporal; privates, Terrence Connors, Richard Little.

37th Infantry, three years,—Gilbert J. Bentley, sergeant; Watson S. Bantley, Charles H. Butler, William H. Mansir, corporals; privates, Chandler T. Dowd, Egbert J. Olds, Winfield S. Tyrrell.

39th Infantry, three years,—James H. Maxwell, corporal.

54th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Charles Jackson, Jeremiah Nokes, Charles Swan, William Wells.

57th Infantry, three years,—Charles F. Heath, assistant surgeon; privates, George W. Alexander, James C. Houstain, Simeon Stover.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### BERKSHIRE IN THE WAR OF 1861-3 (*continued*).

#### MOUNT WASHINGTON.

AT a town meeting on the 30th of August, 1862, a bounty of \$150 was voted to each volunteer credited to the town.

In August, 1863, the selectmen were authorized to borrow whatever might be necessary to pay State aid to the families of soldiers. This authorization was repeated in 1864, and in that year a bounty of \$125 was voted to each volunteer for three years. Money was also voted in 1865 for State aid.

The whole amount disbursed for State aid during the war, and subsequently refunded by the commonwealth, was \$1,211.61. The amount expended on account of the war was \$1,885.

It was stated by the adjutant general that Mount Washington furnished for the war twenty men, which was the exact number required to fill all its quotas. The following list, compiled from the adjutant general's record of Massachusetts volunteers, shows the number to have been twenty-seven.

49th Infantry, nine months,—Marcus M. Schmitt, sergeant; privates, George Campbell, Levi Campbell, Philander Culver, David Funk, Levi Funk, Owen Garland, Horace W. Lampson, Samuel Slater.

11th Infantry, three years,—George W. Speed, corporal; private, Andrew J. Speed.

22d Infantry, three years,—Private, Knapp Brasie.

27th Infantry, three years.—Charles H. Bligh, captain; Charles H. Bligh, 1st lieutenant; Joseph H. Cowles, Robert M. Roberts, sergeants; Charles H. Bligh, Robert M. Roberts, corporals; privates, Cyrus Agans, Jean Dedier, Eugene Gizard, William W. Tucker.

31st Infantry, three years.—Privates, Francis S. Frink, George Frink, Lorin Frink, Seth Frink, William Frink.

#### NEW ASHFORD.

The first legal town meeting held because of the war was on the 3th of November, 1861; and at that meeting fifty dollars were voted to the





family of Charles Goodell, who had volunteered in the United States military service.

August 18th, 1862, seventy-five dollars were voted to each volunteer who had enlisted, and in 1863 a bounty of one hundred dollars, which was afterward increased to one hundred and twenty-five, was voted to such as should enlist. In February, 1864, the last amount was again fixed on, and it so continued to the end of the war.

On account of the war an aggregate of \$1,385 was paid by the town; for State aid, repaid by the commonwealth, \$340.40.

The soldiers' list of the town is as follows:

49th Infantry, nine months,—Privates, George W. Habbit, Arnold Beecher, Frederick Belcher, James A. Jordan.

10th Infantry, three years,—James W. Wheeler, sergeant; privates, Stephen Clark, Charles T. Goodale.

27th Infantry, three years,—Private, James Goll.

34th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Darius N. Goodell, Albert Howe, George F. Ingraham.

#### NEW MARLBORO.

At the first town meeting held on account of the war, December 2d, 1861, the selectmen were instructed to give aid to the families of volunteers in accordance with the provisions of the legislative act providing for such aid, and to borrow money for that purpose.

In 1862, on the 23d of July, the town authorized a bounty to volunteers for the town's quota of one hundred and twenty-five dollars each, and George Stephens added to this five dollars to each volunteer. At a meeting in August the selectmen were directed to pay bounties of one hundred dollars each for nine months' men.

At a meeting on the 22d of September, 1863, it was voted to raise the sum of \$2,735.90 to reimburse the commonwealth for bounty money which the State had assumed.

April 4th, 1864, \$5,750 were appropriated for bounties to those who had enlisted or should afterward enlist to the credit of town, and to reimburse those who had subscribed and paid money to encourage enlistments. At a meeting June 4th, in the same year, the selectmen were instructed to enlist thirty men in anticipation of a future call, and the treasurer was authorized to borrow money for that purpose. In December a committee was appointed to procure sufficient volunteers to clear the town from draft in case of a future call for men.

March 6th, 1865, it was voted to raise twenty-seven hundred dollars for the payment of commutations.

The town expended on account of the war \$25,778.52, and for State aid \$6,896.45.

Twenty-four men from this town enlisted in Connecticut regiments. Besides these it furnished the men named below for Massachusetts organizations.



49th Infantry, nine months,—Henry D. Sisson, 2d lieutenant; Thomas Carey, Loren P. Keyes, Edward J. Rising, David K. Stannard, Henry E. Warner, sergeants; Edwin L. Booth, Joseph H. Moore, George W. Palmer, Homer A. Parmelee, George H. Wheeler, corporals; privates, Harvey D. Adams, Luke Benson, James W. Brett, Stephen Brochee, David Campbell, Benjamin Catman, Henry M. Carroll, Alvin W. Chapin, Thomas Collins, Dennis Foley, Nicholas Harford, William Hennessey, Gilbert Hollister, Henry D. Hyde, James Mahoney, William Mansett, Henry W. Palmer, Stephen Powell, Christopher Rhoades, Henry D. Rhoades, George W. Sage, Gilbert L. Sheldon, Alva M. Smith, Charles Targos, James C. Ward, Seth E. Webster, Charles K. Williams.

9th Battery, Light Artillery, three years,—Privates, William Kelley, Michael McCarty, Thomas Rochford.

11th Battery, Light Artillery, three years,—Private, John S. Haskley.

2d Heavy Artillery, three years,—Private, David Flannery.

2d Cavalry, three years,—Privates, Samuel Harvey, Bernard Logan.

4th Cavalry, three years,—Private, Elwyn Ewins.

5th Cavalry, three years,—Willis Adams, Edward B. Benton, corporals; privates, George Baredock, George Bell, Edward Lutz, Dennis Moody, Joseph Ashford, Samuel Waikins.

2d Infantry, three years,—Privates, Ferdinand Kanz, George G. Reading, George Turner.

10th Infantry, three years.—Hubert L. Baillet, commissary sergeant; William M. Stannard, sergeant; privates, George A. Barber, James Hecox.

15th Infantry, three years,—Privates, James H. Adams, Thomas Middle, Charles H. Nichols.

19th Infantry, three years,—Privates, John Mitchell, John Twitchell.

20th Infantry, three years,—Private, James H. Adams, James Hecox, Thomas Moran.

24th Infantry, three years,—Privates, George N. Fellows, John Windell.

27th Infantry, three years,—Alonzo H. Conklin, Charles H. Cook, sergeants; privates, Marcus R. Canfield, Charles H. Cook, George Duncan, William Hecox.

28th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Charles Bailey, George Dawson, John Kelley, Nicholas Smith.

30th Infantry, three years,—Josiah W. Brett, 2d lieutenant; Josiah W. Brett, 1st sergeant.

31st Infantry, three years,—Alfred Warner, 1st sergeant; Edward C. Cook, Henry W. Cowles, corporals; privates, Edward C. Cook, Henry W. Cowles, Edgar Durant, George Warner, William W. Warner.

34th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Adrian Adams, George H. Fellows.

37th Infantry, three years,—Edward E. Stannard, 2d lieutenant; Edwin S. Adams, Edward E. Stannard, 1st sergeants; John Alvin Hall, Michael Moore, Valentine Stannard, corporals; privates, Selkirk Alexander, Amon Cadwell, Jacob Decker, Peter Durant, Timothy Fitzgerald, James Hecox, William H. Jackson, James A. Jacote, James McCormick, Josiah O. Ostrom, Trelewney Sacket, William A. Stone, William L. Wheelock.

54th Infantry, three years,—Private, John Barrows.

55th Infantry, three years,—Private, John Barrows.

56th Infantry, three years,—Private, Joseph Kysick.





57th Infantry, three years.—Charles Williams, 1st sergeant; privates, Luke Breman, Edward Carroll, Timothy Curtin, Peter J. Mambert, Edwin R. Reed, Henry C. Scriber, Charles H. Wilcox, Henry L. Wilcox.

Veteran Reserve Corps.—Richard Britton, Thomas Cameron, Stratton Cleveland, Thomas E. Dewey, George M. Dow, Timothy Driscoll, Dennis Galvin, Thomas Heavers, James Hickey, Melvin S. Hutchinson, Michael Jordan, James C. Kelly, Frederick Lambert, Daniel O'Conner, John Walsh, Thomas Whittemore.

Regular Army,—John F. Minor, David Wright.

#### OTIS.

May 11th, 1861, the town voted seven dollars per month to each of its volunteers while in the service, and State aid to their families.

In 1862 State aid was continued, and bounties of one hundred dollars were voted to each volunteer for three years or nine months.

In 1863 fifteen hundred dollars were voted for State aid.

In March, 1864, the selectmen were instructed to pay the same bounties to colored volunteers as to white men. In May the bounties were fixed at one hundred and twenty-five dollars, and during the year loans to the amount of seven thousand dollars were authorized. The men subject to draft raised five hundred dollars.

In 1865 the selectmen were authorized to borrow, for State aid, such sums as were necessary.

On account of the war Otis expended \$13,741.74; and for State aid \$5,394.93. The town sent to the war the men named below:

49th Infantry, nine months.—Myron Nichols, 1st sergeant; Andrew J. Pool, sergeant; privates, George G. Carter, Henry A. Day, Isaac B. Downs, Linus S. Fay, Sheldon E. Gibbs, William J. Gleed, Henry C. Green, Addison J. Harris, David Haskell, Merritt S. Huggins, Rufus Hunt, Henry A. Knapp, Watson C. Latham, William Morgan, Elijah M. Morse, Willis K. Norton, William S. Peattie, Charles Sprague, Marcus A. Thompson, Eleazer Twining.

2d Heavy Artillery, three years.—Privates, Henry C. Green, Wilbur Hall, Addison J. Harris, Rufus Hunt, William H. Lighthourne.

3d Heavy Artillery, three years.—Private, Harlo Collins.

1st Cavalry, three years.—Privates, Curtis L. Kibbe, Lafayette Proper.

5th Cavalry, 3 years.—Homer C. Dolphin, corporal; privates, Samuel Jackson, Joshua Rodman, Charles Van Hasen.

2d Infantry, three years.—Privates, John Carroll, John McDonnell.

11th Infantry, three years.—William C. Allen, first sergeant; private, James L. Lawrence.

12th Infantry, three years.—Private, William J. Haskell.

16th Infantry, three years.—Private, James L. Lawrence.

17th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Patrick D. Clifford, Rufus Hunt, William H. Lighthourne, William Williams.

27th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Robert J. Butler, Archibald Gannon, William Hazard, William A. Keep, Edward Miner, William C. Soule, Levett Tillotson.

31st Infantry, three years.—David W. Hall, Michael Hayden, corporals; privates, Homer Hayden, Alfred Mallhot.



- 32d Infantry, three years,—Private, William J. Haskell.
- 37th Infantry, three years,—Edwin L. Branning, corporal; privates, Elsie L. Flint, George W. Haskell, George L. Hill, Francis A. Hubbard, Alfred D. Jones, Lyman E. Searles, Philo N. Snow, Charles A. Taggart, Edwin G. Taylor, William B. Twinney.
- 39th Infantry, three years,—Private, William J. Haskell.
- 54th Infantry, three years,—Private, William W. Walley.
- 55th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Henry Almoring, James Miller Jr.
- 56th Infantry, three years,—Private, Anthony Agen.
- 57th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Charles E. Culver, David Haskell Jr., Milo F. Langdon, John A. Parsons, William N. Pearl.
- 58th Infantry, three years,—James Melvon, corporal.
- Veteran Reserve Corps,—James G. E. Hall, Martin Mathewson, Edgar Starkey.
- Regular Army,—William H. Galloupe, William Lahy, Patrick Maloney.
- U. S. Colored Troops,—Anderson Fulger.

## PERU.

In 1861 an appropriation of \$500 was made for the benefit of volunteers "and their families if needy."

In July, 1862, \$500 were voted for bounties to fourmen, and in September bounties of \$125 each were offered for nine months' volunteers. Money was raised in 1863 for State aid, as provided for by an act of the Legislature, and in 1864 the selectmen were invested with discretionary power with regard to the bounties to be paid, and they were directed to raise recruits in anticipation of calls.

The amount expended for war purposes was \$3,300, and for State aid \$1,168.36.

The men who represented Peru in the Union armies were the following:

- 49th Infantry, nine months,—Edward N. French, corporal; privates, Albert L. Edwards, Nathan W. Haskell, Harlan P. Parsons, Benjamin F. Pierce, William W. Stowell.
- 12th Battery, Light Artillery, three years,—Private, Edwin Dunn.
- 29th Unattached Heavy Artillery, one year,—Privates, Edward O'Connor, Timothy Sullivan.
- 1st Cavalry, three years,—Luman O. Gear, corporal.
- 2d Cavalry, three years,—Privates, Nathan W. Haskell, Octave Murray.
- 2d Infantry, three years,—Private, Lord M. Ashen.
- 15th Infantry, three years,—Private, Merrick L. Clark.
- 19th Infantry, three years,—Private, Parson S. Willards.
- 20th Infantry, three years, Privates, Edward Doyle, Charles McCarthy, George Williams.
- 21st Infantry, three years,—Private, Marcus Watkins.
- 28th Infantry, three years,—Private, Reginald Loomis.
- 31st Infantry, three years,—Privates, George C. Fairbanks, Richard Fairbanks, Edward E. Quigley.





34th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Charles G. Askey, Nathan A. Fitch, Edwin Shumway, Newell P. Stone.

54th Infantry, three years,—Private, Joseph Kelton.

#### PITTSFIELD.

A meeting of the citizens of Pittsfield was held on the 10th of April, 1861, at which action was taken to provide for the families of volunteers from the town in the eighth regiment. At a town meeting on the 23d of May, the action of the citizens' meeting was approved and confirmed.

March 3d, 1862, two thousand dollars were appropriated for State aid.

August 2d a bounty of one hundred dollars was voted to each volunteer for three years, and August 25th this bounty was raised to one hundred and seventy-five dollars.

Recruiting was continued through 1863, and in the latter part of 1864 the bounty was increased to one hundred and fifty dollars, at which it was held to the end of the war.

On account of the war Pittsfield appropriated and expended \$126,010.72; and for State aid, afterward reimbursed by the commonwealth, \$36,980.90.

She sent to the field the men named in the following list:

8th Infantry, 100 days.—Henry S. Briggs, Lafayette Butler, Henry H. Richardson, captains; Robert Bache, William D. Reed, Henry H. Richardson, 1st lieutenants; Robert Bache, Alonzo E. Goodrich, James Kittle, 2d lieutenants; Alonzo E. Goodrich, Edward B. Mead, 1st sergeants; Daniel J. Dodge, George A. Holland, John T. Power, Edwin F. Russell, Charles R. Strong, Samuel M. Wardwell, Israel C. Weller, George S. Willis Jr., sergeants; Cornelius Bailey, John L. Dalrymple, Timothy Drew, Dwight Holland, Albert Howe, Orson H. Kendall, John K. Packard, Frederick Smith, John W. Smith, John Wark, corporals; Edwin Merry, musketeer; privates, John H. Adams, Cornelius S. Aldrich, Andrew J. Atwood, Joseph Barker, Peter Bardow, William E. Barnard, Almon F. Bassett, Perry C. Bentley, George Blinn, Harvey Bonney, Nicholas Bonney, Dexter F. Booth, Leonard Hunt, Charles H. Burbank, George W. Burbank, Charles A. Eart, Lafayette Butler, Patrick Casey, John A. Chickering, William H. Clark, John Collins, William Costello, Marcus Cotton, Charles Davis, Emerson J. Dodge, William Fabricius, Alonzo D. E. Fagan, William Forward, Andrew J. Fuller, Lewis Gallipeaux, William H. Garrett, James Gentry, Frank H. Goodrich, William H. Green, Robert Grichis, Charles H. Gunn, William F. Harrington, Elbert O. Hemenway, Harrison Hemenway, Willard F. Hemenway, Chester Hopkins, James Houlahan, Daniel Hughes, Edgar J. Jellens, Dwight Joodies, Thomas Joyce, Eben W. Kendall, John J. Labare, Joseph E. Lawrence, John Lee, Frank Lloyd, Eugene Mallison, Constant R. Marks, Alfred Marshall, Milt T. Masey, Frank McDonald, Hobart H. McIntosh, James McKenna, William McKenna, Thomas Meeks, Mitchell Montville, Albert Moore, Charles Morgan, John Moore 1st, John Moore 2d, Daniel Morgan, Anthony Millars, Joseph P. Matjick, Abraham J. Nichols, Richard Powers, Charles Prentiss, Allen Priestard, George Reed, William D. Read, Charles A. Rockwell, William W. Rockwell, Amanda Rostand, John T. Ryan, Edward J. Ryan, John Ryan, James H. Scott, Isaac Seiderwick, Frederick A. Skinner, Henry H. Smith, William H. Smith, Charles H. Taylor, Lyman W. Van Loan,



Jacob Vedder, Abraham Volk, Eleazer Walker, Albert H. Whipple, Ellen B. Whittlesey, Thaddeus Wood, Theodore S. Wright.

49th Infantry, nine months.—Charles T. Plunkett, major; Henry B. Brewster, quartermaster; Henry J. Wylie, sergeant major; George E. Howard, quartermaster sergeant; Charles R. Gutick, George R. Ungersfelder, Charles T. Plunkett, Zenas C. Rennie, Israel C. Weller, captains; George W. Clark, Frederick A. Fraley, 1st lieutenants; Frederick A. Francis, James N. Strong, William M. Wells, 2d lieutenants; Albert Howe, 1st sergeant; Thomas Biely, George L. Goss, David Greber, James N. Strong, Henry J. Wylie, sergeants; Joseph H. Allen, Erasmus D. Barnes, William H. Cranston, Michael F. Daly, Allen M. Dewey, Henry R. Fowler, Frank H. Harding, George H. Kearn, James Kittle, John Priestly, Lemay J. Reiff, John B. Seay, William E. Tillotson, corporals; Michael H. Haoley, John C. Merry, Emile Neuber, musicians; privates, Merrick L. Abbe, Cornelius S. Aldrich, Peter Avery, James T. Bailey, Robert H. Baker, James W. Bansen, James E. Bastonella, Frank V. Blake, Robert Bogard, Daniel Braunwalder, John Bryce jr., Orville H. Burr, John R. Camp, Henry J. Campbell, William Chaman, John E. Clark, William E. Clark, Charles A. Coleman, Merrick R. Colt, Michael Daniels, Peter Daniels, Luther M. Derr, John Doten, Timothy Drew, Charles Dudley, Thomas Dunlap, Emil Eade, George Feller, Joseph Gallipaux, Robert A. Green, Henry Grewe, Rufus Gross, Thomas E. Hall, Addison I. Harris, John F. Hills, George A. Holland, Alberjus W. Howard, Lewis F. Hubbard, Frederick Hufneagle, Lewis R. Jeffers, Seth R. Jones, William Jones, Daniel M. Joyner, Chauncey E. Kendall, John Kimble, George Koickensbaker, Francis M. Knox, George E. LeBarnes, John H. Lee, Martin Macoy, Joseph Malcomb, Martin Mallison, Andrew Marion, Lewis Marion, John Maxwell, James McKenna, John W. Merrills, Edward F. Merry, Henry N. Merry, Henry Moore, William Nicholas, Samuel G. Noble, William O'Brien, Charles Olinger, John K. Packard, Charles E. Platt, Hugh Rairden, Timothy Rairden, Henry Rechteshell, William Reed, Henry Rheel, Charles A. Rockwell, Henry M. Robbins, John Rogers, Judson B. Rogers, Henry L. Root, William Shaw, Henry Smith, William Steffax, John Swart, John W. Swart, William Stupka, William Taylor, William Taggey, Charles B. Vandenburg, Richard Vandenburg, Peter Van Line, Charles F. Videtto, Henry C. Warner, Charles B. Watkins, Willard L. Watkins, John Wiedman.

2d Battery Light Artillery, three years.—John W. Stuart, Henry Welch, corporals; privates, Peter O'Donnell, Timothy Riardon, William Riardon.

3d Battery Light Artillery, three years.—Private, David N. Mulvey.

7th Battery Light Artillery, three years.—Privates, Edward Belcher, Hugh Brady, Thomas Morgan.

12th Battery Light Artillery, three years.—Privates, Nathaniel D. Branton, Thomas C. Keefe, Philip Powers.

15th Battery Light Artillery, three years.—Private Michael Mahoney.

1st Heavy Artillery, three years.—Emanuel B. Bleo, corporal; privates, John H. Bleo, John O'Rourke.

2d Heavy Artillery, three years.—Privates, Henry Bates, Michael Cuzzens, William Dragon, Andrew Guinan, James Lawler, Thomas Murphy, Hugh Nagert, John O'Mara.

3d Heavy Artillery, three years.—James Halpin, corporal; privates, Thomas Burns, Francis L. Clark, James Gierowand, James Nelson, John Nelson, Daniel Schermerhorn.





30th Unattached Heavy Artillery, one year.—Private, William Johnson.

1st Battalion Heavy Artillery, three years.—Private, Thomas Duffee.

1st Cavalry, three years.—William H. Bates, John B. Fidelity, George E. Hagast, Charles H. Greeley, James I. Lloyd, sergeants; Clark D. Blood, William Bayitt, Selden Y. Clark jr., Michael H. Dolphin, William Goodell, corporals; John Wood, saddler; James McArdle, blacksmith; privates, Francis Adams, Stephen Allen, Charles E. Andrews, Benoni W. Atwood, Frankly M. Avery, Patrick B. Bane, Richard Bennett, Nelson O. Bowen, Josiah Braymer, Eugene Canale, Maurer Casey, Michael Clark, William Clark, James Cole, Anthony Conway, Henry Comer, Charles Cunningham, Edward Dennis, William H. Eater, Barnett Egan, Martin Feeney, Henry Fernet, Noah Foote, Charles Gallipaux, Thomas Garley, Hiram S. Gray, James Guinan, Michael Hanley, Moses Harris, John F. Hicks, Theodore C. Hoin, John Howe, William H. Hull, Eilart Jansen, James F. Lloyd, George B. Madden, James Maher, William Morse, John P. Olor, William D. Palmer, John Putnam, Henry H. Rathburn, Edward V. Roberts, Patrick Rohan, John D. Roase, Daniel Shannon, Edward Shannon, Giles Taylor, James H. Thomas, Irving Wootman, Henry Williams, James S. Young.

2d Cavalry, three years.—Privates, Sturges Abbott, James N. Benjamin, John Bran, Thomas Donahue, Charles Heckory, Nicholas H. Huyeh, John McCreeth, John Odell.

3d Cavalry, three years.—Privates, Joseph P. Barber, Nelson S. Brown, James Conlin, Marcus Carron, Dennis A. Fagan, Jerry Green, Abraham Mahalan, Daniel McKenna, William E. McKenna, Allen Pichard, Thomas Quinn, Charles Roy, James Solon.

4th Cavalry, three years.—Private, William Cook.

5th Cavalry, three years.—John F. Porter, John A. Williams, sergeants; John E. Gillard, corporal; private, Augustus Fields.

9th Infantry, three years.—Private, James Malcolm.

10th Infantry, three years.—Henry S. Biggs, colonel; Thomas W. Capps, captain; John W. Howland, 1st lieutenant; George Hagst, Edgar B. Wadsworth, 2d lieutenants; George E. Bulley, Henry R. Davis, Haskell Hemenway, Dwight Hubbard, sergeants; James Finnican, Gardner B. Hibbard, Timothy Murphy, John B. Smith, Walter B. Smith, corporals; privates, Andrew Baird, Peter C. Butler, Harry C. Bosworth, Frank L. Breyer, Thomas Brown, Samuel Barnham, John Carey, James Cassidy, Thomas G. Colt, John E. Dailey, Charles Dudley, John Egan, John N. Ginn, Jerry Green, Charles F. Harris jr., Alfred C. Hemenway, Harrison Hemenway, William Hogan, William Irving, John Jones, Edward S. Joy, George S. Kellogg, William T. Lane, Thomas G. Larkin, Daniel Loomis, Benjamin Mann, Nelson Magee, John Martin, George Menton, Daniel A. Mullett, John S. Mullett, Henry D. Newton, Henry Noble, Charles Packard, Charles W. Phipps, George L. Prentiss, Robert Reinhart, William Rice, Daniel Reardon, Richard Ryan, John H. Rowe, Thomas Shannon, Wolfe Simons, Marshall F. Slate, Lyman Stockbridge, Albert A. Tahan, Jacob Vetter, William H. Viddeto, William Wallace, James W. Weatherford, Eleazer Wilbur, Darvil M. Wilcox, James Williams, Ephraim Wilson.

11th Infantry, three years.—William R. Bassett, 2d lieutenant.

12th Infantry, three years.—Privates, John Claffery, John Evans, Robert O. Hemenway, Dexter M. Phelps, Theodore S. Wright.

17th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Andrew Guinan, James Lisout, Thomas Murphy, Hugh Nugent, Humphrey O'Leary, John O'Mara.





18th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Patrick Cannon, James Hoyer.

19th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Joseph McCalm, James Smith, James Thornton.

20th Infantry, three years,—Walter B. Smith, captain; Lansing E. Hibbard, 1st lieutenant; Lansing E. Hibbard, 2d lieutenant; Lansing E. Hibbard, John Mercham, sergeants; privates, David G. Chapman, Hollis S. Chase, John Corbett, James Dwyer, George W. Feathergill, William French Jr., George E. Keller, John Kennedy, Arthur S. Lewis, Thomas Lew, Charles Packard, Frederick Polyz, John Reed, Thomas Shannon, John A. Sloan, Thomas Smith, King Strong, John A. Tenny.

21st Infantry, three years,—Henry H. Richardson, (lieutenant colonel); Henry H. Richardson, major; William H. Clark, Henry H. Richardson, captains; William H. Clark, 1st lieutenant; William H. Clark, 2d sergeant; Jubilo S. Crosey, Samuel G. Dunovan, Charles E. Janson, sergeants; Richard Stevens, corporal; privates, Andrew J. Atwood, Charles L. Atwood, Samuel Bedford, William Castello, John H. Dorrisson, Charles P. Davis, Sidney Dudley, John Farelly, Evalye A. Flayvek, Alfred M. Hazard, Jules Jacquot, George W. Jarvis, Xavier Jordan, Jeremiah Kelley, Robert R. Lombard, Benjamin Mann, H. R. McIntosh, George Montony, John Moninger, Edward Mountain, Hugh Murphy, George E. Potter, Thomas E. Reed, Henry Russell, Samuel P. Russell, Augustus Scolly, George W. Sharp, Henry H. Sperry, Abraham Volk, Samuel P. Whipple, Samuel Wright.

24th Infantry, three years,—James R. Crauston, sergeant; Timothy Hardman, corporal; privates, Stephen E. Gifford, Theodore D. Griswold, William Hagan, Henry King, James Lynch, John McCarthy, John McKenna, George Malvern, Charles L. Pennock, Peter Powers, Edward L. Pratt, Michael Quinn, David Scriven.

25th Infantry, three years,—Private, George E. Potter.

27th Infantry, three years.—Robert M. Roberts, 1st lieutenant; William F. Harrington, 2d lieutenant; Charles H. Blood, William F. Harrington, Willard L. Merry, Robert M. Roberts, 1st sergeants; Franklin Hurst, William H. Manning, sergeants; Laville F. Hall, Franklin Hurst, corporals; privates, James S. Bentley, William G. Bentley, Andrew Baird, David Bolio, Charles H. Davis, James Donlon, John Egan, David Fisher, Francis Fisher, Joseph Goddett, John Gorman, Rufus Groat, Walter S. Harrington, Still Jackson, Thomas Jones, Robert Lauder, Andrew Marion, Henry McCombs, William O'Brien, Dennis O'Connor, Nathan W. Patterson, James W. Ryan, Albert A. Feelhan, John Tucker, Charles Weed, John Welsor, James Williams, Ephraim Wilson, John Wilson, William Wilson, Eleazer Wilbur.

28th Infantry, three years.—Henry Ruckeshell, corporal.

29th Infantry, three years,—Michael Mullany, corporal; privates, Francis Cassidy, William Clamann, Henry L. Jackman, John O'Neil, Richard Owen, John Raftes.

30th Infantry, three years,—Josiah W. Brett, sergeant.

31st Infantry, three years,—Robert Biche, Elbert H. Fordham, majors; Francis E. R. Chubbuck, chaplain; Elbert H. Fordham, Edward F. Hollister, William W. Rockwell, captains; Elbert H. Fordham, George W. Sears, 1st lieutenants; George W. Sears, 2d lieutenant; George W. Sears, sergeant major; Charles S. Bart, quartermaster sergeant; George W. Sears, hospital steward; Abraham I. Nichols, William H. Rich, 1st sergeants; Emerson J. Dodge, William McKenna, George W. Sears, Benjamin Taylor, sergeants; Charles H. Adairson, Frederick Adams, Thomas Harrington, George E. Millen, William H. Rich, corporals; John L. Weller, sergeants.





privates, John Agar, George Anthony, William E. Atwater, Henry Ball, Horace T. Ball, John L. Barber, Daniel E. Barker, William E. Barnard, Commodore P. Bentley, Albert L. Berry, George A. Bidwell, William Birkmyer, Frederick Bonta, John Bohonet, Dexter F. Booth, Edward Byrne, Patrick Carney, Homer E. Carr, John W. Carver, John Clark, Franklin Clary, Robert Corbett, Rollin E. Crowl, Lewis D. Dailey, Lafayette Duley, Peter Daniels, F. Lewis De Corgen, Joseph B. Etnett, William French, Philip Galapaux, Latham Gaffie, Merton L. Gier, John Gilpin, Abel B. Goodrich, John L. Goor, Samuel D. Gould, Andrew Hanselman, Henry Hilder, Martin Hopper, James E. Hubbard, William P. Hubbard, Daniel Hughes, James Jarvis, Joseph Jaundrea, William Jaundrea, John Jones, George Kelley, Thomas Kelley, Thomas Kendall, Joseph G. Knight, George E. Knight, Lewis Koshien, John Lambert, John Lassure, Joseph Leppert, John Linton, Henry J. Lyon, Martin M. Macoy, Ichabod D. Main, James A. Main, Samuel Malcolm, William Malcolm, George L. Martin, Charles Matthews, Peter McCann, Patrick McDonald, William Mehan, William Mercer, John W. Merrill, John C. Merry, Peter Meyers, George N. Mexcur, Mitchell Montville, William Moore, James Moray, George T. Mallen, Michael Mullaney, Andrew Mure, John W. Murray, Edgar Narragon, Michael O'Neil, Rosa Palmer, Edward F. Quigley, Daniel J. Roberts, William H. Rooney, John Ross, Joseph M. Ross, Peter Ross, Joseph Russell, Dendrich S. Sailer, George W. Sears, Daniel Shannon, Dominick Spelman, Charles Stone, William Sullivan, James Tate, Benjamin Taylor, William H. Thornton, Thomas Tobin, Abram Volk, David T. Walker, Hiram Wentworth, Stephen Whipple, Chas. Wilcox, John Willard, William Wood, Hiram O. Young.

32d Infantry, three years.—Privates, James Anderson, Elbert D. Hennessey, Dexter M. Phillips, Augustus Solly.

33d Infantry, three years,—Private, William Coons.

34th Infantry, three years,—Andrew Potter, lieutenant colonel; Andrew Potter, major; William H. Cooley, Andrew Potter, Lyman W. Van Loan, captains; Lafayette Butler, Samuel H. Platt, Lyman W. Van Loan, Melville E. Walker, 1st lieutenants; Samuel H. Platt, Lemuel Pomeroy, Melville E. Walker, 2d lieutenants; Lemuel Pomeroy, sergeant major; Michael F. Mullen, quartermaster sergeant; James R. Fairbanks, hospital steward; Cornelius Burlev, Henry H. Clark, James Dempsey, Lemuel Pomeroy, 1st sergeants; Edward B. Ennison, James D. Fitts, Arthur Maiky, sergeants; Elisha Chapin, Noah A. Clark, James Cowan, Michael Hayden, Charles H. Moulton, William H. Porter, Nathan L. Robinson, corporals; George H. Carpenter, Edgar P. Fairbanks, musicians; Julius F. Rockwell, wagoner; privates, Edward B. Anthony, John M. Anthony, John Baptist, James A. Ball, Charles J. Bridgman, Edward Burns, William Burns, Napoleon Burt, Edward Byrnes, Henry C. Cady, John Casey, Aaron B. Chapman, Nathaniel C. Chapman, William H. Chase, Hiram Dailey, Charles H. Dill, William H. H. Eastman, Patrick Garry, Jack Grady, Michael Haggerty, Nelson Harrod, Edson J. Harrison, William Hagan, Ora H. Bird, William Jarvis, William Kelley, John H. Kifts, Henry Klag, Thomas Losen, Jerry Logan, James Lynch, George Malcolm, William Mandego, Stephen Marx, Henry McGilp, William Mink, Jeremiah Morse, Michael F. Mailen, Thomas O'Connell, Philip Otis, Thomas Powell, Michael Quinn, John Shaw, James Smith, George H. Smith, Tyler Sprague, Louis Stevens, Sebastian Trabold, Wilbur P. Vanden, John Wimmer.

36th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Samuel Bedford, Jules Jacques, Jerry Kelley, Hugh Murphy, Samuel P. Whipple.





37th Infantry, three years.—Alonzo J. Goodrich, lieutenant-colonel; Frank C. Morse, chaplain; Thomas G. Colt, Walter B. Smith, captains; Michael Casey, James C. Chalmers, Thomas G. Colt, Daniel J. Dodge, Thomas F. Flannery jr., Walter B. Smith, 1st lieutenants; Michael Casey, James C. Chalmers, Thomas F. Flannery jr., Walter B. Smith, 2d lieutenants; James C. Chalmers, commissary sergeant; Richard E. Morgan, hospital steward; Michael Casey, 1st sergeant; Thomas Fallon, Robert Henry, corporals; privates, Miles H. Blood, John Chalmers, Francis W. Clough, Andrew Donlan, Patrick J. Fallon, Christopher Farrell, William Farley, John N. Goss, Harrison Hemenway, Oliver C. Hooker, Patrick Hussey, John McGeehin, Charles Packard, William L. Peters, Robert Reinhardt, William Rier, James Rodgers, Charles H. Royce, Thomas Shannon, William F. Shanley, William Sataloff, Peter Wademan, John Welch, Michael Young.

39th Infantry, three years.—Privates, John Caffrey, Elbert O. Hemenway, Dexter M. Phillips, Theodore S. Wright.

40th Infantry, three years.—Oliver E. Brewster, surgeon.

54th Infantry, three years.—Samuel Harrison, chaplain; Edward B. Emerson, captain, 1st lieutenant, and 2d lieutenant; George W. Bingsaid, corporals; privates, Levi Bird, Moses Foster, Eli Franklin, Alexander Gaines, George W. Green, Paul Hamilton, Edward Hoose, Elmer H. Jackson, Samuel D. Jackson, Henry E. Jones, Samuel Jones, William Peters, Charles Potter, Abraham Thompson, John Van Blake, Abraham Wilson, Henry Wilson.

56th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Samuel Bedford, James Jackson, Jerry Kelley, Samuel P. Whipple.

57th Infantry, three years.—Edward P. Hollister, lieutenant-colonel; James H. Marshall, Charles H. Royce, 1st lieutenants; Charles H. Royce, 2d lieutenant; Joseph Gallipaux, George H. Hodge, Lester Tyler, corporals; privates, Peter Avery, Joseph Bassett, Joseph H. Beckwith, William S. Bourne, John Clark, Charles S. Daniels, Lowell Daniels, Horace Danyon, Charles E. Dudley, Lyman Dudley, Edwin J. Gouch, Alvah A. Hunt, Peter Morrissey, Peter O'Clair, George Pecardet, Rufus E. Putnam, Andrew C. Thompson, Patrick Thornton, Benjamin A. Vince.

58th Infantry, three years.—Private, Daniel Higgins.

61st Infantry, one year.—William H. Brown, Henry F. Johns, 1st lieutenants; Henry T. Johns, George H. Kearn, 2d lieutenants; Edward S. Joy, principal musician; Thomas Biety, George H. Kearn, 1st sergeants; Louis Merriam, Judson B. Rogers, John B. Scace, Charles L. R. Strong, Warren W. Wade, sergeants; James W. Bassett, Pindar F. Cooley, George H. French, John H. Holland, James McKenna, Herman H. Shaw, Charles W. Thompson, corporals; privates, William H. Austin, Edwin Bagg, James Barnes, James Bedford jr., James H. Baskin, Thomas D. Baskin, Nicholas D. Bonney, John W. Boughton, William H. Brown, Alexander D. Bunker, James H. Caden, Nathaniel C. Chapman jr., Harrison J. Cowan, Michael Curley, Joseph T. Dailey, Daniel Davis, Michael L. Davis, William J. Dick, James Dunn, Edward Ferron, Peter J. Flansburg, Michael Follen, Daniel Forward, George Francis, James Gandley, Henry Gilbert jr., David Goodell, Herman Guttschald, William Grey, Augustus P. Hallenbeck, John Hancock, Henry A. Harrison, Francis A. Hemenway, Israel D. Holdridge, Emily S. Horton, George E. Howard, Joseph N. Hubbard, Henry T. Johns, Edward S. Joy, John Keilard, Peter Kerr, Michael Larkins, George E. Le Barnes, William G. Loring, Thomas L. Loudon, Alfred H. Lougher, Martin F. Mallison, Thomas McKenna, John Morrow, Andrew J. Patrick, William





Ranschausen jr., Peter J. Roberts, George E. Robinson, George Shepson, Silas D. Spaulding, James Ward, Edward Webber, Christian Widmaler.

First Company Sharpshooters, three years,—Private, William E. Rumball.

Veteran Reserve Corps,—Charles Albert, James A. Barrett, James Brady, Michael Brady, Patrick Broderick, James Brown, Anthony Craven, William Dallas, Joseph Dugan, Rudolph Ersinberger, James Fudcare, Peter Fitzgerald, James Gaddis, William J. Guinan, Daniel Hart, John Hart, George Hedgeman, Jacob Hiss, Germany Hoffman, George Hooker, Charles L. Jackson, Thomas Kennedy, John Leary, Patrick Leary, Charles Lyman, John Lynch, George McCabe, Michael McFadyre, Joseph McRichards, Eugene O'Callahan, Hugh O'Hanlon, Hugh O'Neil, Joseph Parker, William Quinnian, William Rapp, Samuel W. Reed, John S. Reed, Charles Schenck, Charles H. Spear, Abraham Taylor, William Thompson, Edward E. Underwood.

Regular Army,—Timothy J. Connolly, Joseph E. Dane, David H. Gould, Hugh Moran, Morris Noonan, Richard Powers.

U. S. Veteran Volunteers,—James Malcolm, John W. McGinnis.

U. S. Colored Troops,—Willis Cash, Lewis Clark, Abraham Reynolds.

48th N. Y. Infantry,—Henry H. Sears, captain.

173d N. Y. Infantry,—Byron W. Kellogg, sergeant.

12th N. Y. Cavalry,—Private, Charles M. Shegardonson.

1st N. O. Infantry,—Private, John Camp.

#### RICHMOND.

No abstract of the records of Richmond is at hand. It is known that several town meetings were held each year, and that money was appropriated for the payment of bounties and for State aid.

"The ladies of Richmond sent several boxes of clothing, books, dried fruits, sweetmeats, and other necessities and comforts to the soldiers in the field and in hospitals at different times during the war."

An aggregate of \$1,742.84 was paid by the town for State aid afterward refunded by the commonwealth, and \$7,000 were expended on account of the war.

Richmond sent to the field the men named in the following list:

8th Infantry, 100 days,—Privates, Nicholas Conley, Edward Morrison, Charles L. Woodward.

49th Infantry, nine months,—Privates, John Carey, Araud L. Chapman, Wallace Chamberlain, Simon Hoofmyer, William Linen, Charles D. Lynch, Edwin F. Lynch, John Lynch, John D. Lynch, Alfred Markham, Charles Markham, Wells B. Morgan, Henry C. Nichols, Abram Rossiter, William M. Rossiter, Frank Stassen, Albert Van Bramer, Wells E. Wheldon.

1st Cavalry, three years,—Private, Michael M. Clapper.

2d Cavalry, three years,—Private, Amide Lagueness.

12th Infantry, three years,—Private, Lorenzo S. Knapp.

19th Infantry, three years.—Private, Peter Gorman.

20th Infantry, three years.—Private, Michael Plass.

21st Infantry, three years.—Robert B. Chamberlain, 1st sergeant; Robert B. Chamberlain, Charles L. Woodworth, corporals; privates, Henry F. Chamberlain, Howard K. Swift, William H. Tyler.



24th Infantry, three years,—Private, Charles H. Walker.

31st Infantry, three years,—David Perry, 2d lieutenant; Revello H. Vallinger, Charles Wilcox, corporals; privates, Albert D. Cook, George W. Lane, William E. Lane, Charles M. Renshaw, Thomas Tohen.

32d Infantry, three years,—Private, Lorenzo S. Knapp.

34th Infantry, three years,—Edward W. Chapin, corporal; privates, Joseph P. Chapman, John Crocker, John H. Jones, Henry P. Merrill, Edward H. Norton, Charles H. Walker, Benjamin C. Wilbur.

36th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Howard K. Swift, William H. Tyler.

37th Infantry, three years,—John Plass, corporal; privates, Francis Madison, Michael Plass.

39th Infantry, three years.—Private, Lorenzo S. Knapp.

55th Infantry, three years,—Private, Franklin J. Dickerson.

56th Infantry, three years,—William H. Tyler, corporal; private, Howard K. Swift.

57th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Horace Church, John H. Richards, Romanzo Stevens, Silas D. Webster.

61st Infantry, one year,—Robert B. Chamberlain, 1st sergeant.

Veteran Reserve Corps,—Phillip Sullivan.

#### SANDISFIELD.

As in the case of Richmond, there is no abstract at hand of the records of Sandisfield during the war. Town meetings were held during each year while the war continued, and as in other towns money for bounties and for aid to soldiers' families were voted.

The money thus raised amounted—that on account of the war—to \$30,144; and that for State aid, refunded afterward by the commonwealth, as in the case of other towns, to \$5,159.67.

Sandisfield sent the following named persons to the war:

49th Infantry, nine months,—Burton D. Deming, 1st lieutenant; Joseph B. Wolcott, 1st sergeant; Albert Hitchcock, Nathan Taylor, sergeants; Nelson M. Case, Julius P. Couch, William Deming, Porter H. Sears, corporals; privates, Albert Allen, Franklin Allen, Alfred Belden, James H. Fosdick, Alvin Heath, James Madden, Samuel Maxfield, Andrew McNamara, Samuel Merrill, Miles Munson, John Northway, Alexander Obey, Harvey Parsons, George F. Pratt, David Rathbone, James M. Richards, Charles N. Richardson, Henry Richardson, Frederick P. Seymour, Sidney Seymour, Egbert Smith, James J. Smith, Milton P. Smith, Anson Snow, Henry C. Steadman, Silas Twing, Henry M. Underwood, Harlan P. Wood.

2d Heavy Artillery, three years,—Privates, Charles G. Allen, William Allen, William Bailey, Thomas J. Russell, William H. Russell, Nicholas Vanstette.

3d Heavy Artillery, three years,—Private, James Fallon.

1st Cavalry, three years,—Privates, John H. Beckwith, Stephen Ellis, William F. Miller.

2d Cavalry, three years,—Private, James Kilroy.

10th Infantry, three years,—Private, Austin G. Williams.

17th Infantry, three years,—Charles G. Allen, corporal; privates, William Allen, William Bailey, Thomas J. Russell, William H. Russell, Matthew Stephenson.

19th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Isaac M. Fosdall, Alvis Seiss.





20th Infantry, three years.—Private, Benjamin F. Heath.

27th Infantry, three years.—George W. Phillips, corporal; privates, Levi Clark, James J. P. Davis, John Fuller, William C. McKay, Francis Stone, Henry H. Underwood, Henry Walker.

30th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Michael McGuire, Richard Moore.

37th Infantry, three years.—Charles N. Snow, corporal; privates, Alonzo F. Bartlett, Enos Besoncond, Alexander Deforest, Gordon Dunn, Edmund M. C. Fuller, John L. Gibbons, William H. Hale, Loyal S. Humphrey, Edgar N. Phelps.

56th Infantry, three years, Robert Amos, sergeant.

57th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Charles C. Gregory, Henry Patterson.

Veteran Reserve Corps.—Hiram Bridges, John Carroll, Philip Chace, William R. Chalfont, William Cleland, Patrick Cummings, John Doherty, John Foley, James Ford, Michael Gorman, George F. Hayden, John M. Hunter, William Ivory, Gideon S. Keen, William Muchada, John D. Penong, John Remaby, Adolph Stranz, Charles H. Stratton, George W. Templin, William Welch, Henry A. Wood.

Regular Army.—Frank E. Blodgett, Thomas Conway, John H. White.

#### SAVOY.

At the first town meeting, in 1861, to act on war matters the town voted to hire money, not exceeding \$1,000 in amount, for State aid.

During 1862 it was voted to raise by assessment a sufficient amount to pay bounties, both to three years and nine months volunteers and to drafted men, \$100 to each, to exempt the property of such volunteers, while in the service, from taxation, to pay to each \$10 of his bounty in advance, and to levy a tax of \$1 on each poll for the benefit of volunteers, in addition to their bounty.

In 1862 \$1,000 were voted for State aid.

In June, 1864, the bounty for each recruit was increased to \$125.

In 1865 \$1,000 were voted for State aid, and the selectmen were directed to continue recruiting and keep all quotas full.

The amount expended for State aid was \$3,058.11. On account of the war, including \$2,466.84 raised by subscription, it was \$5,524.95.

Savoy sent men to the war as follows :

49th Infantry, nine months.—Henry H. Davis, corporal; privates, William S. Babbitt, Edwin Brown, Zelotas M. Burlingham, Albert W. Cheesbro, Alfred W. Cheesbro, Abner D. Coddington, Ebenezer Coddington, James A. Cornell, James E. Dunham, Alvin H. Hathaway, Manly H. Horton, William D. Leonard, Arad H. Maranville, Ezra M. Martin, William Proud.

13th Battery, Light Artillery, three years.—Private, Michael Markey.

2d Heavy Artillery, three years.—Privates, William L. Smith, James Winter.

4th Cavalry, three years.—Privates, Daniel T. Ennis, John Smith.

5th Cavalry, three years.—Thomas Smith, corporal; Privates, Richard T. Medley, John Nickens.

10th Infantry, three years.—Privates, George Carpenter, Orrin S. Harwood, James M. Warner.

24th Infantry, three years.—Privates, William J. Nash, John T. Phelps, Charles B. Saunders.



27th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Harrison Goodnow, William J. Joslyn.

31st Infantry, three years,—David P. Remington, corporal; privates, John L. Cain, Milo Chamberlin, James E. Dunham, Joseph Emerson, Henry Horton, Charles E. Quinn, David P. Remington, Charles E. Segar, John Turner.

34th Infantry, three years,—Private, William J. Nash.

37th Infantry, three years.—Arthur M. Cane, corporal; privates, Samuel Beals, George Carpenter, Thomas B. Edwards, John W. Hathaway, Warner A. Hathaway, Urbane Sears, Philip H. Sherman, William L. Towle.

57th Infantry, three years,—Private, William H. Loud.

Veteran Reserve Corps.—Amos Baker, Peter Ferguson, Patrick Nickerson.

Regular Army,—James Scully.

#### SHEFFIELD.

On the 4th of May, 1861, the first town meeting to consider war measures was held in Sheffield. At this meeting it was resolved to raise \$2,000 for volunteers, to pay each volunteer from the town \$9 per month while in the service, to give aid to the families of volunteers, to raise by tax \$4,000, and to form a military company. \$500 were afterward appropriated for State aid.

In 1862 the town voted to give bounties of \$125 to volunteers for three years, and \$100 each to those who enlisted for nine months. It was also voted to borrow \$2,000 for aid to the families of volunteers.

In 1863 it was voted to extend aid to the families of drafted men, and in April, 1864, \$3,000 were voted to procure volunteers, and the bounty was fixed at \$150. Subsequently discretionary power was given to the selectmen in the matter of bounties and amounts to be borrowed for the purpose of paying them. In August it was voted "to deposit with the State treasurer one hundred and twenty-five dollars each for ten men for recruits," and in December the selectmen were authorized to borrow four thousand dollars with which to pay bounties for thirty-two recruits.

In April, 1865, the selectmen were further authorized to borrow money for State aid to the families of volunteers.

The amount expended for war purposes was \$30,033.68. For State aid \$14,507.63 were appropriated and expended.

Sheffield's list of soldiers in this war is as follows :

49th Infantry, nine months,—Horace D. Train, captain; Roscoe C. Taft, 1st lieutenant; Moses H. Tuttle, 1st sergeant; George L. Parsons, sergeant; Frederick K. Arnold, Dwight Boardman, Morris Decker, Charles O. Dewey, Edward E. Ensign, Lyman Gorham, Dwight M. Robbins, Robert L. Taft, Edson A. Welton, corporals; Henry L. Holmes, musician; Ebenezer S. Hinman, wagoner; privates, William Amstead, Henry Ashley, Charles Bartholomew, John Brazee, Charles Breunison, George E. Callender, Edwin W. Chapin, Henry B. Chapin, Norman C. Chapin, Amos Clark, George W. Clark, Wilbur J. Clark, Albert N. Cowles, James Curtis, Harvey Decker, John C. DeForest, Barney Devine, Albert Fenny, William Fogerty, Bradford C. Foote, John J. Ford, William Funk jr., John A. Graham, Timothy Handlon, Charles W. Hart, Libbeus Hedger, Horatio L. Hewins, Sylvester J. Hewins, John E. Hinton, John Jackson, Elbert S. Joyner, William H. Lawrence, Curtis Lee, Lyman Lindsey,





Asabel M. Little, Frank Little, Albert Loomis, James B. Loring, Michael McCarty, John McCormick, Franklin Noteware, John O'Brien, John Platz, Gideon Root, Milton Rooback, John M. Roys, Dwight Seeley, Theron C. Shaw, Maloy J. Smith, Edwin R. Stannard, George H. Stevens, John J. Stevens, Nicholas Van Deusen, Henry Van Tassell, Daniel G. Webb, James Webb, Nelson Webster, Jacob Winters, William E. Winters.

9th Battery, Light Artillery, three years,—Private, Charles Porter.

11th Battery, Light Artillery, three years,—Private, Daniel Doyle.

1st Heavy Artillery, three years,—Privates, George Pitts, Henry W. Pitts.

2d Cavalry, three years,—Private, Luther M. Wiggins.

3d Cavalry, three years,—Private, John H. Jackson.

5th Cavalry, three years,—Francis Boyd, Daniel Brown, commissary sergeants; privates, Hilary Brown, George Hicks, Edward Johnson, George Mars, Robert Miller, Benjamin Simons, John Williams.

10th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Robert R. Andrews, Martin Bartholomew, Frank Cadney, Lee Cummings, Orrin Curtis, Davis Hart, Charles L. Pennock, Peter Smith, John B. Tubbs.

11th Infantry, three years,—Alexander Hall, corporal; privates, Edward Dusenberry, Lauren S. Gaylord, Thomas Jones, Hiram C. Manville, George E. Wright.

16th Infantry, three years,—Hiram Manville, corporal; privates, Edward Dusenberry, William H. Loomis, George E. Wright.

20th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Edgar Barnum, Lee Cummings, Peter Smith, Charles Webster.

24th Infantry, three years,—Robert O. Dusenberry, corporal; privates, John Ferry, Elias J. Flink, Michael McGraw, Charles Williams, George Witheroux.

28th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Lorenzo Bonaventura, George W. Bowen.

31st Infantry, three years,—George Frink, sergeant; Charles Gordon, wagoner; privates, Lewis Beckwith, Michael Dusenberry, Francis S. Frink, Lorin Frink, Seth Frink, William Frink, Edward Funk, Albert Keep, S. Knickerbocker, Edwin McCarry, James F. Middleton, Charles Ulrich, Hiram Wentworth.

34th Infantry, three years,—Private, Charles L. Pennock.

37th Infantry, three years,—Thomas C. Lawton, assistant surgeon; George D. Chapin, Robert O'Brien, Levi M. Stannard, sergeants; Levi Davis, Henry J. Deming, Albert L. Strong, corporals; privates, Edgar Barnum, Martin Blodgett, Stephen H. Collar, Lee Cummings, Thomas Darby, Rodolphus Decker, James Ferry, Grove Gorham, Edward Harper, Hiram Hart, Wilson Hayes, Nathan J. Hedger, John Higgins, John Kelly, Andrew J. Knight, John M. Manville, Alonzo O'Brien, George Pease, Frederick S. Shepard, Henry Sikes, Peter Smith, Arlington Stannard, Daniel Tarp, Charles Webster, Philip Winters, Luther S. Wright.

54th Infantry, three years,—Privates, David Addison, Edward Crosslear, Milo J. Freeland, John C. Harris, George Jarvis, Nathaniel H. Johnson, Norman Johnson, William Jones, Edward More, Henry J. Tucker, Ira Waterman.

55th Infantry, three years,—Private, Thomas Henry.

57th Infantry, three years,—Michael Lovejoy, sergeant; privates, Martin E. Finkle, Charles F. Frink, John E. Hinton, Albert M. Nickerson, James Winters.

61st Infantry, one year,—Privates, Harvey Decker, John McCormick, John Roberts.

Veteran Reserve Corps,—John T. Bolton, Thomas Connall, Edward Fitzgerald,



William H. Fletcher, Bernard Forrest, Oscar S. Jewett, Michael Keenan, John Leger, Henry McKeon, William Meyer, John Ryan, Frederick Schroder, George M. Vickers, Allen I. Williams.

Regular Army,—Augustus Baker, John Barth, Patrick Breen, George Brown, James Brooks, John Delehanty, Philip Deu, Philip Felter, Frederick Herpolscheimer, Conrad Hillenbrand, William Hogan, William S. Holden, William Jones, Dennis Kelley, Adolphus Lowell, Simon Meisenbock, Henry Meyer, John Murphy, Thomas Murphy, David O'Brien, John Robinson, John Walsh, Adam Wolf, Frederick Wulff.

#### STOCKBRIDGE.

The first town meeting in Stockbridge to act on war matters was held May 3d, 1861. At this meeting it was voted to borrow money within the limit of two thousand dollars for the purchase of clothes and equipments for volunteers. Also the selectmen were directed to pay State aid to the families of volunteers, in accordance with law.

In April, 1862, the selectmen were authorized to borrow \$1,000 for State aid. In July a bounty of \$125 was voted to each volunteer for three years, and in August a bounty of \$100 was voted to each volunteer for nine months.

In 1863 State aid was voted to the families of drafted men, and the selectmen were authorized to borrow money for military purposes. They were also directed to solicit subscriptions for bounties to volunteers, and it was voted to abate the poll taxes of soldiers belonging in Stockbridge.

In 1864 it was voted to appropriate \$3,963 to fill the quota of the town and refund subscriptions. It was also resolved to recruit twenty-five men in anticipation of the next call.

The town expended on account of the war \$15,029.56; and for State aid \$11,141.96.

The ladies of the town early organized a soldiers' aid society, and during the war articles to the aggregate value of several thousand dollars were forwarded by them to the army and to hospitals.

"A very handsome brown stone monument has been erected to the memory of the men of Stockbridge who died for their country in the War of the Rebellion. The cost of the monument was twenty-six hundred dollars. It stands near the centre of the village to which it is an ornament as well as an honor to the memory of those who fell."

The list of the defenders of the country who went from Stockbridge is as follows:

3d Battalion Rifemen, three years,—Private, Elias M. Gifford jr.

49th Infantry, nine months,—Edwin T. Dresser, 1st lieutenant; Charles P. Adams, C. Luther Nettleton, sergeants; Henry S. May, William H. Palmer, corporals; privates, John A. Arnold, Charles H. Babcock, Edward R. Bradley, James Caffrey, Robert E. Clary, George W. Cooper, John Crosby, Wells Fuller, Benjamin G. Horton, Charles H. Horton, Alfred Johnson, Henry R. Jones, Lucian L. Kellogg, John Lawless, Charles L. Lynch, George T. May, Francis Nea, Albert C. Nettleton,





Dennis O'Brien, John O'Neill, David Owens, Nelson Owens, Franklin A. Parker, John Power, John E. Sargent, Andrew C. Smith, Albert J. Spoor, Edgar O. Whipple, George R. Williams, Godfrey Wolfinger.

2d Heavy Artillery, three years,—Private, Freeland A. Doe.

3d Heavy Artillery, three years,—Private, Joshua L. Meacham.

29th Unattached Heavy Artillery, one year. —John H. Johnson, sergeant; James E. Badger, artificer.

1st Cavalry, three years,—Privates, James W. Carey, John L. Dresser, John F. Tullar.

2d Cavalry, three years,—Privates, William Collins, Thomas Karrigan.

3d Cavalry, three years,—Privates, James F. Dresser, William H. Dresser.

5th Cavalry, three years,—Theodore Martin, corporal.

2d Infantry, three years,—William F. Mix, 1st sergeant; William Logan, Morris Solomon, sergeants; privates, Milton G. Bishop, Charles E. Brace, John S. Burghart, Frederick Bomeler, John Burns, Ethan A. Clary, Charles E. Cunningham, Michael Dailey, Thomas Dailey, John Deu, Thomas Halpin, John Harlmann, James Johnson, John Lawless, James Mullaney, Michael Mullaney, Patrick Murphy, Joseph C. Rathburn, George Reese, William Ridell, Edmund Shultz, Robert Smith, John Stone.

10th Infantry, three years,—Private, Russell L. Chadwick.

19th Infantry, three years,—Melville Eggleston, 1st lieutenant.

20th Infantry, three years,—Henry W. T. Mali jr., captain; Henry W. T. Mali, Arthur G. Sedgwick, 1st lieutenants; privates, Edward E. Dresser, Levi Lamson jr., Edward C. Sexton, James Sullivan.

21st Infantry, three years,—Privates, Richard Bassett, Charles H. Sperry.

24th Infantry, three years,—Privates, William Beaton, George I. Cooley, Frederick E. Eastland, James Newman, Charles L. Ostrander, Charles I. Parker, John W. Payson, Marshall W. Pepoon, Charles W. Rathburn, Nelson Weeks.

27th Infantry, three years,—Nelson Adams, corporal; privates, Harvey H. Converse, George W. Bradburn.

28th Infantry, three years,—Private, James Somers.

30th Infantry, three years,—William A. A. Flegentrager, corporal; private, Christian Wolf.

31st Infantry, three years,—Privates, Charles Blivin, Anthony Conway, Frank Fitch, Jacob Kirby, Henry Webster.

34th Infantry, three years,—William F. Evans, corporal.

36th Infantry, three years,—Charles H. Sperry, sergeant.

37th Infantry, three years,—Privates, James Caffrey, Philip Caffrey, Thomas Caffrey, John W. Cooney, Gideon M. Dutcher, William Farrell, Morrison A. Holmes, George W. Jones, Stephen Kirby, Lewis Lenox, Thomas McCabe 2d, Charles H. Miller, Cornelius Miller, Frederick Miller, John W. Newton, John O'Brien, Frank Page, Louis Pepoon, Abram Russell, George Schnier, William E. Slocum, Oscar Sweet.

39th Infantry, three years,—Private, John Eminger.

54th Infantry, three years,—Privates, John I. Clow, Charles H. Piper, John Q. Williams, Valorous W. Williams.

56th Infantry, three years,—Charles H. Sperry, sergeant.

57th Infantry, three years.—Whitman V. White, surgeon; Alfred H. Dashiell jr., chaplain; Edson T. Dresser, captain; Henry S. May, sergeant; privates, Charles



Jones, John O'Neil, Newton B. Pepon, Charles Rathburn, William H. Rathburn, George J. Schafer.

61st Infantry, one year,—Privates, John H. Connors, Bernard McCona.

62d Infantry, one year,—Melville Eggleston, 2d lieutenant.

Veteran Reserve Corps,—John Farrell.

#### TYRINGHAM.

In 1861 the town authorized its selectmen to borrow money for State aid to the families of volunteers.

In 1862 the disbursement of State aid was continued, and in July of that year a bounty of \$100 was offered for each volunteer for three years. In August this bounty was increased to \$200, and a bounty of \$100 each was offered for nine months' volunteers.

State aid was continued in 1863, and in 1864 bounties to the extent of \$300 each were authorized for three years volunteers under anticipated calls, and a tax of \$3,200 was voted.

In April, 1865, it was voted to pay the expenses already incurred in recruiting, and to raise \$1,500 by tax for recruiting purposes and commutations under subsequent calls and drafts, if any.

The town expended on account of the war \$6,960, and \$1,681.51 for State aid.

The following named soldiers went to the field from Tyringham. This was said by the adjutant general to be one of the two towns in the county that sent its exact quota under all calls :

8th Infantry, 100 days,—Privates, Hamlin F. Clark, Hiram Young.

49th Infantry, nine months,—George H. Sweet, 2d lieutenant; George H. Sweet, 1st sergeant; Thomas Steadman, Charles H. Videtto, corporals, Hamlin F. Clark, musician; privates, George L. Barnes, Alfred S. Bigelow, Horace W. Black, Karl Curtin, Henry J. Gardner, Addison B. Heath, Franklin Heath, Thomas Maloney, Edward W. Steadman, Harlon A. Wheelock, Scott W. Wilson, James S. Young.

2d Infantry, three years,—Privates, Wilbur F. Anthony, Gershom W. Fielding, Theodore D. Holmes, Gilbert B. Ingraham, Henry Johnson, William J. King, George H. Sweet, George Ticknor.

10th Infantry, three years,—Private, Charles Blakesley.

27th Infantry, three years,—Private, James M. McGinness.

31st Infantry, three years,—Private, Scott W. Wilson.

35th Infantry, three years,—Private, John Waters.

54th Infantry, three years,—Privates, William T. Taylor, Amos Williams.

61st Infantry, one year,—Privates, James Butler, Coleman Finegan.

#### WASHINGTON.

Although no formal town meeting was called during 1861 relative to war matters, several popular meetings were held.

In September, 1862, a meeting was held, and bounties of \$75 each were voted to seven men who had enlisted for three years, and \$100 each to volunteers for nine months.





Probably no action by the town was necessary during 1863, and none was taken.

In April, 1864, it was voted to pay bounties of \$125 to recruits, and vigorous action was taken to promote enlistments.

In this town, as in many others, the ladies did good work in furnishing lint, bandages, and other supplies for wounded and sick soldiers.

The town expended \$6,000 on account of the war, and \$3,632.53 for State aid.

The following were sent by the town to fight the battles of the Union: 8th Infantry, 100 days.—Private, John W. Noble.

15th Unattached Infantry, 100 days.—Private, George H. Brooker.

49th Infantry, nine months.—Charles V. Abbott, John Kelley, Cheney I. Ingell, corporals; privates, Zera Barnum, Ezra Brown, Sylvester Burrows, Lewis Crozier, Edmund Filio, Orestes R. Foster, Ira Higgins, Samuel S. Kettle, John McCarty, Ambrose Morgan, Jerry Noble, Henry M. Segar, Ensign J. Simmons, Ephraim Wilson, Frank Wilson, William Wilson jr.

10th Infantry, three years,—Walter B. Smith, corporal; private, John Lander.

31st Infantry, three years,—Patrick J. Dinan, 1st lieutenant; Patrick J. Dinan, 2d lieutenant; privates, Thomas Bills, Simon Devalla, Patrick J. Dinan, Owen Flannigan, Jared F. Harrison, John Hall, Lawrence W. Hopkins, Francis Peyton.

32d Infantry, three years,—Private, Francis H. Tarbell.

34th Infantry, three years,—Private, John McCarty.

37th Infantry, three years,—David Kelly, corporal; privates, Joseph Fettleur, John Gilbert, Michael Quigley, Dwight M. Squire, Joseph Vetter.

57th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Dennis Collins, James M. Frost, Loren S. Holmes, Ambrose E. Morgan, Ensign J. Simmons, Wesley T. Simmons.

61st Infantry, one year,—Privates, Henry A. Beach, Alanson B. Pomeroy, Erastus Smith.

62d Infantry, one year,—Martin G. Tewksbury, sergeant; Henry Williams, corporal.

#### WEST STOCKBRIDGE.

The first war town meeting in this town was held November 18th, 1861, and at that meeting the selectmen were authorized to give State aid to the families of volunteers.

In March, 1862, \$1,500 were appropriated for State aid, the payment of poll taxes by enlisted men was remitted, a bounty of \$100 was voted to each volunteer for three years, and the treasurer was directed to borrow money for the payment of these bounties. In August the same bounty was ordered for each volunteer for nine months.

In 1863, \$1,700 were appropriated for State aid, and that aid was extended to the families of drafted men, and additional allowances were made to volunteers.

In 1864, \$2,000 were appropriated for State aid, and \$1,500 were voted for recruiting purposes. Bounties were provided for, and it was voted to refund to citizens money which they had contributed for enlistment. The selectmen were authorized to pay *in gold* the bounty of \$125 authorized by an act of the Legislature, in that year, to be raised.



In 1865, \$2,000 were appropriated for State aid, and it was voted to raise, by tax, \$6,500 to refund subscriptions by citizens.

The town paid on war account \$17,020.32, and for State aid \$7,298.55. It sent the men named in the following list to the field:

8th Infantry, 100 days.—William D. Bliss, corporal; private, Thomas Gannon  
49th Infantry, nine months.—Charles W. Kniffen, 1st lieutenant; Josiah Arnold, Charles S. Boynton, sergeants; John M. Gamwell, corporal; privates, Samuel Arnold, Charles H. Barnes, George W. Barrett, Almon M. Billings, Robinson K. Bliss, William D. Bliss, Russell Cole, Walter A. Furtaw, Thomas Gannon, Daniel Lamento, Daniel Lamont, William Merchant, James S. Moore, Hosea Wheeler.

13th Battery, Light Artillery, three years.—Private, Asa J. Lerner.

2d Heavy Artillery, three years.—Privates, Timothy Calnan, James Daly, Philip McGuire, John H. Messenger.

1st Cavalry, three years.—Privates, Andrew Clark, George W. Fields, John H. Tyson.

2d Cavalry, three years.—Frank P. Turner, corporal.

5th Cavalry, three years.—Henry M. Rogers, sergeant; privates, Robert H. Robertson, Albert M. Rogers.

1st Battalion, Frontier Cavalry, one year.—Privates, Charles W. Blaney, Cyrus B. McClure.

10th Infantry, three years.—Charles P. French, corporal; privates, Waterman D. Bristol, Michael Finn.

17th Infantry, three years.—Private, John H. Messenger.

18th Infantry, three years.—Private, Elijah E. Nye.

19th Infantry, three years.—Private, James F. Woodruff.

20th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Henry C. E. Bennett, Charles Buck, Martin V. D. Dingham, Charles Goodwin, David Root.

21st Infantry, three years.—Private, Richard Bassett.

24th Infantry, three years.—Private, John Conly.

29th Infantry, three years.—Private, Elijah Hunt.

30th Infantry, three years.—Private, John Riley.

31st Infantry, three years.—Privates, D. Francis Blinn, J. Miles Crampton, Edwin Lowrie, Darwin S. Read, Theodore Smith.

34th Infantry, three years.—Christopher Pennell, sergeant.

35th Infantry, three years.—Private, Elijah Hunt.

36th Infantry, three years.—Richard Bassett, corporal.

37th Infantry, three years.—William H. Bailey, George L. Shook, corporals; privates, William H. Barnes, Judson Bradley, William C. Chapman, Martin V. B. Dingman, Gideon M. Dutcher, Rufus M. Ford, Albert H. French, Charles H. Fuarey, James M. Fuarey, Thomas Kelly, Asa L. Landon, John Maloney, William Maloney, Demas Mosier, Lewis Mosier, Lewis M. Mosier, Albert Noble, Merritt D. Taylor, James Wilcox.

56th Infantry, three years.—Richard Bassett, corporal.

57th Infantry, three years.—William G. Olds, corporal; privates, Peter A. Burrows, Charles Harvey, George Jameson, Daniel Lamont, George E. Reed.

58th Infantry, three years.—Private, John Ryan.

62d Infantry, three years.—Private, James F. Woodruff.

Veteran Reserve Corps.—Edward J. Ford, Benjamin F. Pike, John M. Sullivan.

Regular Army.—William F. Smith.





## WILLIAMSTOWN.

On the 3d of June, 1861, at the first town meeting held because of the war, \$5,000 were appropriated for State aid to soldiers' families.

In March, 1862, the selectmen were directed to continue assistance to the families of volunteers, a bounty of \$100 was voted to each volunteer for three years, and a loan of \$3,100 for recruiting purposes was authorized. In September the same bounty was voted for nine months' volunteers.

In 1863 the bounty to volunteers was increased to \$150, and State aid to soldiers' families was continued.

In 1864 bounties were made \$125 each, and the selectmen were authorized to borrow money for bounties and recruiting expenses.

State aid was by vote of the town, continued in 1865.

The town expended on account of the war \$15,415, and for State aid to volunteers' families \$11,930.92.

The following is a list of the soldiers who went from Williamstown:

8th Infantry, 100 days,—Private, Edward G. Ingraham.

49th Infantry, nine months,—Robert B. Harvie, 1st lieutenant; William A. Nichols, Robert R. Noble, 2d lieutenants; Dana W. Noyes, David W. Torry, sergeants; Lobreski Fowler, John W. Nelson, corporals; privates, Zebulon Beebe, Franklin Carde, Edward Cobleigh, Semour W. Cox, Lucien A. Daniels, Wallace B. Dorman, John M. Gallusha, Samuel Hickox, Edwin Ingraham, John M. Leonard, Wells G. Maynard, William Miller, John W. Noyes, Albert W. Reed, William T. Reed, Stephen P. Robinson, Edward G. Smedley, George Smith, Elijah B. Sweet, Thomas J. Sweet, Chauncey E. Torrey, Harrison White.

1st Heavy Artillery, three years—Privates, Henry Holmes, William Powell, Oscar Simpson.

30th Unattached Heavy Artillery, one year,—Privates, Alonzo Bushby, Seymour Cox, Thomas B. Parker, Barnard Stone.

1st Cavalry, three years,—Amos L. Hopkins, captain; Edward P. Hopkins, 1st lieutenant; Amos L. Hopkins, 2d lieutenant; James M. Cole, John Ryan, corporals; Patrick Davis, farrier; privates, John A. Dean, Patrick Gallagher, James Higginbottom, John Kain, Michael Maloney, John McDowell, John Quackenbush, James Rioridan, Reuben L. Terry.

2d Cavalry, three years,—John Sullivan, corporal.

5th Cavalry, three years,—Privates, Edward Henderson, Eli L. Stephenson, William Todd.

2d Infantry, three years,—Private, Henry C. Hoxsey.

10th Infantry, three years,—Privates, Charles H. Jones, John H. Walker.

18th Infantry, three years,—Private, Nathan Hakes.

19th Infantry, three years,—Private, Warren L. Stone.

20th Infantry, three years,—Patrick Kelley, corporal; privates, Walter B. Bryant, Ebenezer Conklin.

22d Infantry, three years,—Daniel J. Reagan, 1st corporal; privates, David Campbell, Edwin F. Gould, Samuel J. Handley, Herman L. White, Wilbur White.

24th Infantry, three years,—Cecil T. Maynard, Francis E. Weil, Alson H. Wilson, sergeants; Horace A. Loomis, corporal; privates, Robert B. Barrows, William



W. Beals, Franklin B. Benton, Benjamin V. Churchill, Washington S. Cone, David C. Daniels, Darius C. Dorman, Lyman E. Fields, Charles A. Fowler, David Haley, Richard Lama, Horace A. Loomis, John McLane, David W. Monta, Charles A. Odell, James H. Perkins, Eleazar M. Roberts, Ira S. Smart, William H. Smedley, Charles L. Spooner, William R. Torrey, Ephraim Walker.

31st Infantry, three years.—William H. Town, sergeant; William B. Town, musician; privates, Edward Bills, Henry A. Bridges, Leroy Clark, Tyler Danforth, Amos C. Davis, James E. Davis, Robert W. Davis, William H. Donahue, James Higginbottom, Charles H. Lowell, Ichabod D. Main, Edward F. Maynard, Thomas Merry, Henry Pratt, John Sullivan, Frank Turner.

32d Infantry, three years.—Edgar A. Maynard, sergeant; Lewis H. Cheesboro, Edgar A. Maynard, corporals; privates, Edson A. Foster, Elijah B. Hewes jr., William E. Wilson.

34th Infantry, three years.—William Claridge, sergeant; private, Liberty B. Sampson.

37th Infantry, three years.—Archibald Hopkins, lieutenant-colonel; Archibald Hopkins, major; Archibald Hopkins, captain; Samuel J. Dean, Patrick Kelley, Richard Welch, corporals; privates, William W. Baldwin, Walter B. Bryant, Franklin Clark, Patrick Clark, George E. Cline, Patrick Collins, Ebenezer Conklin, Francis Daniels, John W. Davis, William Elston, James M. Fletcher, Lucius D. Fletcher, Eber Hake, George Haley, Hiram Horn, Michael Kelly, George Kidder, Lewis Leonard, John McMahon, Michael Mead, Thomas W. Mead, William O'Brien, John Stickney, Edwin R. White, Orsemus H. Wright.

40th Infantry, three years.—Andrew M. Smith, surgeon; Andrew M. Smith, assistant surgeon.

57th Infantry, three years.—Franklin W. Card, sergeant; George F. Lareby, William Worthy, corporals; privates, Daniel Alcombright, George F. Alcombright, Henry E. Cobleigh, James U. Cobleigh, Delbert S. Dawley, Ensign A. Oakes, Ephraim Walker, Daniel J. Sweet.

#### WINDSOR.

On the 10th of May, 1861, a town meeting was held, at which a committee for recruiting was appointed, and also another committee of conference with other towns. The expense of uniform and equipments, within the limit of \$25 cost, was voted to each volunteer, and \$8 pay per month while in the service.

The direction of recruiting and bestowing State aid in this town appears to have been left to a committee, and the town records do not give particulars concerning these matters.

Windsor expended on war account \$9,687.61; and for State aid, refunded by the commonwealth, of course, \$3,802.08.

The following is its soldiers' list:

8th Infantry, 100 days.—Privates, Albert F. Hathaway, William E. Jordan.

49th Infantry, nine months.—James L. White, 1st sergeant; Eugene W. Pierce, corporal; privates, Seth C. Bartlett, Oscar A. Bicknell, John H. Fairfield, John A. Francis, Lyman Hathaway, Casper J. Higler, Israel H. Johnson, Joseph Mettis, William H. Packard, Nathan B. Smith, Nelson B. Stetson, Edwin S. Stevens, Albert F. Thompson, Alexander Van Valkenburg, Henry D. Wentworth, William R. Wheaton.





6th Battery, Light Artillery, three years.—Privates, Frank Harvey, John Mulcase.

2d Cavalry, three years.—Private, Thomas L. Parker.

2d Infantry, three years.—Privates, Thomas Hoy, Jeremiah Mahoney.

10th Infantry, three years.—Orlando W. Pierce, 1st sergeant; David Hamill, corporal; private, Franklin Mason.

15th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Edward L. Day, Avery N. Hathaway, Henry Hathaway, George A. Hawley, Albert E. Hinkley, James O. Ladd, Morris D. Tucker.

27th Infantry, three years.—James W. H. Meacham, Joel Meacham, sergeants; privates, Harland Horton, Joseph Mattis, George O. Morey.

31st Infantry, three years.—Privates, Henry Horton, Reuben Lewis, Thomas I. Randall, John Standish, Allen Warner.

33d Infantry, three years.—Privates, Jeremiah Mahoney, Patrick Martin.

34th Infantry, three years.—Albert M. Hubbard, sergeant; Harlem W. Torrey, corporal; privates, William Dolan, Hamblin L. Ford, William A. Hanley, Jeremiah E. Miner, Jonathan I. Miner, Henry M. Whitman, Newton B. Whitman.

36th Infantry, three years.—Private, Solomon Newton.

37th Infantry, three years.—Orlando W. Pierce, 1st sergeant; David S. Hamill, corporal; privates, Adam Bass, John Bass, Ichabod S. Paddock.

57th Infantry, three years.—Privates, Augustus Bourdon, William H. Doolittle, John H. Fairchild, John Smith, Milo West, Albert C. Wheeler, Otis E. Wheeler.

Veteran Reserve Corps.—Benjamin F. Darling, William Golden, Joseph Hanlon, Henry A. Pinkham, E. V. Skinner.



## CHAPTER XV.

### BERKSHIRE IN THE WAR OF 1861-5 (*continued*).

#### REGIMENTAL SKETCHES.

THE following are brief sketches of the military organizations in which Berkshire county was represented by considerable numbers of men :

*First Regiment of Cavalry.* In this regiment more than 150 men from Berkshire county were distributed among the different companies. It was raised in the autumn of 1861, and left the State, by battalions, on the 25th, 27th, and 29th of December, in that year. The first battalion went to Annapolis, Md., but the second and third, after remaining in New York till January 13th, 1862, sailed for Hilton Head, S. C. The first battalion joined the main body of the regiment in February of that year.

Like other cavalry organizations this regiment during much of its term of service scattered in detachments, and engaged in the kind of duty to which cavalry is particularly adapted.

Parts of the regiment were engaged during the summer and autumn of 1862 in the following actions and affairs : Affair at Pocotaligo, S. C., May 30th, 1862 ; action at Secessionville, S. C., June 16th, 1862 ; affair at Poolesville, Md., September 5th, 1862 ; battle of South Mountain, September 14th, 1862 ; battle of Antietam, September 17th, 1862 ; affair at Snicker's Gap, Va., September 4th, 1862 ; another affair at Pocotaligo, S. C.

The third battalion was in the department of the South, and was afterward permanently detached from the regiment and made a part of the Fourth regiment of cavalry.

In November the other battalions were joined by 238 recruits from Massachusetts, and after being newly mounted and equipped went forward with the army that was advancing on Fredericksburg. They were held in reserve with the artillery during the battle at that place.

In the following March they participated in the fight at Kelly's Ford, and on the 1st of May they were in action at Rapidan Station.





They were again engaged on the Rappahannock, June 9th, and at Aldie, quite severely, on the 17th. On the 19th one squadron was engaged at Middleburg, and on the 21st a running fight was kept up all day between Middleburg and Upperville.

The regiment was next engaged, July 3d, at Gettysburg, and on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of that month it was skirmishing, dismounted, at Jones' Cross Roads.

On the 13th of September it was engaged at Culpepper, and on the 14th it made a reconnoissance to Rapidan Station, and was under a severe artillery fire for six hours.

On the 12th of October the regiment was engaged at Sulphur Springs, and on the 14th, in covering a retreat, it suffered some loss. Two squadrons were, on the same day, engaged without loss near Broad Run. On the 27th the regiment was severely engaged on the plank road near Hope Church, and on the 29th it had a fight with Stuart's cavalry.

On the 24th of March, 1864, a new battalion joined the regiment in place of the one that had been detached. On the 4th of May it had a spirited engagement at Todd's Tavern, and again on the 7th a slight action at the same place. On the 9th it was attacked near Spottsylvania Court House by Stuart's cavalry, and a spirited engagement ensued. On the 11th it made a reconnoissance toward Ashland, drove the enemy from the town, and destroyed railroad, telegraph, post office, etc. On the 12th it was engaged at Brooks' Church. It was not again in action till the 28th, when it had a sharp engagement at Erin's Church. June 12th it was slightly engaged ten miles from Trevillian's Station, and on the 21st it had a slight action two miles from Pamunkey River. It was engaged on the 24th near St. Mary's Church.

It was next engaged at Malvern Hill, on the 28th of July, and at Lee's Mills on the 30th. It was again engaged at Malvern Hill August 14th, and near Charles City Roads on the 18th. On the 21st, and again on the 23d it was in action on the Weldon Railroad.

On the 16th of September the regiment was attacked on a march between its camp near Weldon Railroad and Hawkinsville, and a spirited fight of two hours ensued.

On the 1st of October another spirited action occurred at Vaughn Road. On the 9th of December it was engaged at Bellefield Station.

For the want of space the marches, scoutings, picketings, campings, etc., of this regiment cannot be given. It was constantly engaged in these duties in the intervals between its engagements. Like all cavalry regiments it was almost constantly in motion, and as this sketch shows, very often in action.

*Second Regiment, Infantry.* This regiment, which had about eighty men from Berkshire county, was recruited early in the summer of 1861. Its rendezvous was at Camp Andrew, in West Roxbury, and it left for the seat of war on the 6th of July. It went to New York, then by boat to Elizabethtown, N. J., and from there by rail to Hagerstown,





Pa., from which place it marched to join the army at Martinsburg, Va. It became a part of the corps commanded by General Banks, and entered at once on active service, though it was not during that year engaged in battle.

In the spring of 1862 it was engaged several times with the rear guard of Jackson's retreating army, then it was with General Banks during his famous retreat through the Shenandoah valley. It was in action at Newtown, on the retreat from that place, and at Kernstown.

It was next engaged in the disastrous battle at Cedar Mountain, where it suffered a loss of 34 killed, 120 wounded, and 31 missing.

During more than a month after that battle the regiment was on active and severe duty in the campaign of that summer, but was not again engaged till the 17th of September, 1862, at the battle of Antietam. In this fight it lost 13 killed, 54 wounded, and 2 missing.

It was then engaged in picket duty on the Potomac till the 12th of December, when it marched to Fairfax Station, and soon afterward to Stafford Court House, where it passed the winter in picket, guard, and fatigue duty.

In the latter part of April, 1863, with its corps (the 12th) it went forward and participated in the battle of Chancellorsville. It was next engaged, on the 19th of June, in an attack on rebel cavalry near Beverly Ford, on the Rappahannock. It next entered on the Gettysburg campaign, and at the battle of Gettysburg was hotly engaged, losing, in killed and wounded, more than one third of its number.

It was ordered to New York during the disturbances in the summer of 1863, but soon returned, and on the 27th of September took cars for the West to reenforce the army there.

In December a large portion of the regiment reenlisted and had a veteran furlough, from which they returned in the spring of 1864. It participated in the operations of the Army of the Cumberland and on the 15th of May was in action at Resaca.

It was slightly engaged during the operations in the vicinity of Kennesaw, on the 23d of June, and again skirmishing near Peach Tree Creek, July 20th. On the 30th of July it was engaged near Atlanta, Ga.

The regiment did duty as provost guard in Atlanta from September 2d to November 16th, when it started on the march to Savannah with the army of General Sherman, being the last regiment to leave Atlanta. It was engaged actively in the operations of the famous "March to the Sea," and was slightly in action in Savannah, Ga.

On the 17th of January it took up its march from the vicinity of Savannah, and on the 29th had an affair with some rebel cavalry at Robertsville. It continued its march and crossed the Carolinas, becoming slightly engaged at Chesterfield, and more severely at Averysborough, where it lost seven killed and seventeen wounded. This march was performed amid the unpleasant surroundings of a southern winter, and the regiment reached Richmond May 14th. It afterward did provost duty





for a time in Washington, and then went, via New York, to Readville, Mass., where, on the 26th of July, 1865, it was discharged, after a service of four years and two and one half months.

*Eighth Regiment Infantry, three months.* In the autumn of 1860 the military company which had been organized in Pittsfield in 1853 was reorganized as the Allen Guard. The Hon. Thomas Allen had donated \$1,500 for this company, and this fund was increased from other sources to \$2,000.

In November of 1860 the company was in an effective condition, and during the winter of 1860-61 it maintained a system of semi-weekly drills. By an order of Governor Andrew, in January, 1861, and the prompt and almost unanimous adoption of resolutions by the company, its members became what might be called minute men.

Henry S. Briggs,\* the captain of this company, was in Boston when the first call for troops was made, and he at once represented that this company was prepared for immediate service. It was promptly accepted, and on the evening of April 17th, Captain Briggs sent by telegraph to Lieutenant H. H. Richardson the order for the company to report the next evening at Springfield, where it would join the regiment on its way to Washington.

Twenty-three hours after the receipt of this order the company took the cars for Springfield amid the same demonstrations of loyalty on the part of the people that marked the departure of the first troops from all parts of the country. The regiment arrived at Philadelphia on the evening of the 19th. The next morning it went forward by rail, and then by steamer to Annapolis. After a brief service at that place on board the frigate Constitution, the Allen Guard were sent to Fort Mifflin, Baltimore Harbor, and did not rejoin the regiment for three weeks. They were employed during the remainder of their term of service at Washington, Baltimore, and neighboring points. The Allen Guard returned with the regiment without having met the enemy in battle, but the greater part of its members afterward served in other corps, either as officers or privates; there being among them one brigadier general, two lieutenant colonels, one major, four captains, and seven lieutenants.

*Eighth Regiment, M. V. M., 100 days.* In November, 1864, the Eighth regiment of militia was called into service for 100 days. This regiment had one company from Adams and one from Pittsfield. It was not in action, but two members of the Pittsfield company died of disease.

*Tenth Infantry Regiment.* This regiment was recruited in Western Massachusetts, and had between 300 and 400 men from Berkshire county. Its colonel was H. S. Briggs, who first went out as captain of Company K, in the Eighth regiment. The Tenth had its camp of rendezvous at Springfield, but before leaving the State it went to Boston and remained several days at Medford. The regiment embarked at Boston, July 25th, for Washington, on two steamers. It arrived at Washington on the 28th.

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\* Hist. of Pittsfield, Vol. 2, p. 612.





On the 30th it encamped on Kalerama Heights, where it remained till August 6th, when it removed to Brightwood, five miles north from Washington on the Rockville road. During the remainder of the summer and through the autumn the regiment was many times called to arms, or ordered to be in readiness to march, but no important movement was made. It remained in camp till the 19th of March, 1862, when it marched to Prospect Hill, Va. On the 27th of March, it sailed from Washington for Fortress Monroe, where it landed on the 29th and 30th, and soon entered on the active duties of the campaign of 1862. It marched forward on the 5th of April and took part in the operations before Yorktown. On the 8th of May it started in pursuit of the enemy toward Richmond, and on the 31st it was engaged in the battle of Fair Oaks, where it lost 27 killed, and 95 wounded, six mortally. The behaviour of the Tenth in this action was highly commended.

It was again in action on the 25th of June, and on the 1st of July, it was engaged in the battle of Malvern Hill, where it lost 80 killed, and 73 wounded. The regiment fought bravely in that battle, and, in connection with another regiment, almost annihilated a brigade of the enemy.

On the 16th of August this regiment started on the movement toward the scene of operations nearer Washington. It embarked at Yorktown for Alexandria, where it arrived September 1st. On the 3d it crossed into Maryland, and entered on the campaign in that State. It arrived on the Antietam battle ground September 19th, just after the battle was fought. With the exception of about a month, during which it was in camp at Downsville, the regiment was almost constantly on the march till November 18th, when it went into camp near Stafford Court House, Virginia. On the 5th of December it moved to Belle Plain, where it remained till the 11th of the same month, when it crossed the Rappahannock and took a position in the line of battle at Fredericksburg. Although it was under severe artillery fire it was not actively engaged in this battle, and sustained only a slight loss. In the latter part of January, 1863, the regiment participated in the "Mud Campaign," then went into camp again and remained till April 28th, when it started from its camp, and on the 2d of May crossed the Rappahannock and took position in Fredericksburg early on the 3d. On that day was fought the battles of St. Mary's Heights and Salem Heights, in which the Tenth lost ten killed.

From soon after that time till the battle of Gettysburg the Tenth was almost constantly on the move. At that battle, though not actively engaged, the regiment was under fire and lost slightly. After the battle it engaged in the pursuit of the fleeing enemy, and it continued its marches till July 25th, when it went into camp at Warrenton, Virginia. It left this camp on the 15th of September, and after more than a month of marching from place to place returned to Warrenton October 20th.

On the 7th of November it left its camp and marched to Rappahannock Station, and was engaged in the battle at that place and time, with a loss of two men mortally wounded. On the 12th it went into camp at





Brandy Station, where it remained till the 26th. On that day it broke camp, crossed the Rapidan and, in the eight days' campaign in the Wilderness, it did some severe marching, and was in line of battle, though not actively engaged. It returned to its old camp at Brandy Station on the 3d of December. It remained there till the 27th of February, 1864, engaged in the usual routine of camp duty. In that time about one fourth of the regiment reenlisted and received their Veteran furlough. On the 27th of February it left its camp, to which, after some severe marching, it returned on the 2d of March, and the routine of camp life was resumed and followed for two months.

On the morning of May 4th, with the rest of the army of the Potomac, it broke camp, and on the 5th it was engaged in the battle of the Wilderness, with a heavy loss. It was less actively engaged the next day.

The regiment moved forward to Spottsylvania, and on the 8th was in action. On the 12th occurred the severest fight in which the regiment was ever engaged.

On the 17th it went on a reconnoissance. On the 18th it was again sharply engaged at Spottsylvania Court House.

During the remainder of its term of service the regiment was on active duty in the very active campaign of the summer of 1864, and was engaged in battle at Cold Harbor, Va., on the 3d of June, and at Petersburg on the 18th of the same month. On the 19th it was relieved and sent to the rear. On the 21st it embarked for Washington, and on the 25th it arrived in Springfield, where it was mustered out of service on the 8th of July.

*Twentieth Regiment, Infantry.* This regiment was recruited at "Camp Massasoit," Readville. It left the State on the 4th of September, 1861. It was first in action at Ball's Bluff, where it lost in killed, wounded, and missing, 208. It passed the winter of 1861-2 near Poolesville, Md., and in March, 1862, it went to "the Peninsula," where it was engaged in the campaign of that summer. It was in the battle of Fair Oaks on the 31st of May, 1862, and again at Savage's Station on the 29th of June. On the 30th it was in the severe action at Nelson's Farm, where it lost several officers, and sixty-three enlisted men were killed or wounded. It was under fire at Malvern Hill, but not actively engaged.

In August it left the Peninsula and went to the scene of General Pope's defeat. It marched with the rest of the army through Maryland to the battlefield of Antietam, September 17th, where it was engaged with a loss of 137 men, killed, wounded or missing. It was next engaged at the battle of Fredericksburg on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of December, 1862, and lost in the battle many officers and 123 enlisted men killed and 132 wounded.

On the 23d of May the regiment was again under fire at Fredericksburg. After the battle at Chancellorsville the Twentieth participated in the movements of the army, and was next engaged at Gettysburg, in July, 1863. It went into this action with twelve officers and 218 men. It came





out with one captain, two lieutenants and 116 men. After this battle it was constantly on the march till the 30th of July, when it went into camp at Morrisville, near Kelly's Ford on the Rappahannock, and remained till September 12th, when it moved forward.

On the 12th of October it had a fight at Bristow Station, Va., where it repulsed the enemy with great loss. It was afterward engaged at Mine Run, and went into winter quarters at Stevensburg, Va., on the 5th of December, 1863.

May 3d, 1864, it left its camp, and on the 5th it was engaged in the Wilderness. On the 10th it was in action at Po River, and on the 12th and 13th at Spottsylvania Court House. On the 18th, and on the 24th it was in action near Pamunkey River, and on the 4th of June at Cold Harbor.

On the 15th of June it took position in front of Petersburg, where it fought till it was relieved, on the 24th.

A consolidation of the 13th Massachusetts with the re-enlisted veterans of this regiment was made in the latter part of July. It was engaged at Strawberry Plains, and on the 14th of August at Deep Bottom. It fought again on the 23d at Ream's Station, where it was surrounded and all but ten either killed or made prisoners. It was consolidated into one company of about seventy (some having rejoined) and then organized in three companies. It was afterward engaged at Hatcher's Run, Boydton Road, Vaughn Road, and Farnville. It did fatigue and picket duty during the winter of 1864-5, and was in the final campaign of the war. It was mustered out on the 28th of July, 1865.

*Twenty-first Regiment, Infantry.* This regiment, which had more than eighty men from Berkshire county, was made up of companies from the central and eastern parts of the State. It had its rendezvous at Worcester, and left the State for the seat of war on the 23d of August, 1861.

It was on duty at Annapolis, Md., till January 6th, 1862, when it left with the Burnside expedition for North Carolina. On the 7th of February the regiment was disembarked, and the next day it was engaged in the battle of Roanoke Island, where it lost thirteen killed and forty-four wounded.

On the 11th of March it sailed for Newbern, N. C., and on the 14th it was in the battle of that place, where it lost twenty-three killed and thirty-five wounded.

On the 17th of April the regiment embarked for Elizabeth City, where it landed on the morning of the 19th, and after a severe forced march of twenty miles took part in the battle of Camden, where its loss was four killed, eleven wounded, and one prisoner.

It returned to its camp at Newbern, where it remained until the 9th of July, when it embarked for Virginia, and on the 9th landed at Newport News.

On the 2d of August it sailed for Aquia Creek, and entered on the





campaign of the summer and autumn of 1862 in Virginia and Maryland. It was engaged on the 29th and 30th of August at Manassas, where it had seven men wounded, and on the 1st of September at Chantilly, suffering a loss of thirty-eight killed, seventy-six wounded, and twenty-six missing.

The enemy was next encountered at South Mountain, Md., on the 14th of September, 1862, and in that action five were wounded. Three days later, or on the 17th, the regiment was in action at Antietam, where its loss was ten killed and thirty-five wounded. After this battle the regiment was in camp at Pleasant Valley, Md., during more than a month. It then went forward, and on the 13th of December was engaged at Fredericksburg, where it lost thirteen killed, fifty-two wounded, and one prisoner.

After this battle it resumed its former camp near Falmouth, where it remained (except during the "mud campaign" about January 29th, 1863) till the 9th of February, 1863. It then went to Newport News and on the 26th of March it started for the West, reaching Paris, Ky., April 1st.

It was inactive during the summer, but about the middle of September it went to East Tennessee and entered on more active duty. During its campaign in East Tennessee it was engaged in the battles of Blue Springs, October 10th, Campbell's Station, November 10th, and the siege of Knoxville, November 17th to December 4th, 1863; in all of which it lost four killed, eleven wounded, and two prisoners.

On the 29th of December all but twenty-four of the regiment reenlisted and received a veteran furlough. On the expiration of their furlough they went to Annapolis, whence, on the 23d of April, 1864, the regiment went forward to participate in the campaign of the following summer, in which it achieved a splendid record.

Without attempting to follow it in its various marches, counter-marches, campings, etc., the following list of the battles in which it was engaged is given: Wilderness, May 6th; Spotsylvania, May 10th, 12th, 18th; Shady Grove Road, May 31st, June 1st; Cold Harbor, June 2d; Assault on Petersburg, June 16th and also June 17th; Petersburg Mine, July 30th; Siege of Petersburg, June 18th to August 18th; Weldon Railroad, August 19th; and Poplar Spring Church, September 30th. Its aggregate of losses in these actions was: killed, 47; wounded, 132; prisoners, 39.

The non-reenlisted men of this regiment were mustered out in the latter part of August, 1864, and on the 21st of October the veterans were organized with the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts. On the 27th of that month that regiment was engaged in the battle of Hatcher's Run.

*Twenty-seventh Regiment Infantry* This regiment was raised in Western Massachusetts, and had between three and four hundred men from Berkshire county. Its place of rendezvous was Springfield, and it left the State 981 strong, on the 2d of November, 1861. It arrived at An-





napolis on the 5th, and encamped about three-quarters of a mile from the city.

They remained at that place perfecting themselves in drill, etc., till January 6th, 1862, when they embarked for Fortress Monroe, whence they went to Hatteras Inlet where they arrived on the 13th. On the 6th of February they entered Pamlico Sound, and on the 8th they were in action at Roanoke Island where they lost five killed and fifteen wounded. On the 11th they went on board transports where they remained a month, and on the 11th of March they sailed for Newbern, N. C., where they were engaged on the 14th, with a loss of fifteen killed and seventy-eight wounded. They remained in the vicinity of Newbern till September 6th, when three companies were sent to Washington and five to Newport barracks. They took part in a reconnoissance to Trenton, and an expedition to Goldsboro, N. C. The companies were reunited on the 30th of November, and on the 11th of December they went on the expedition to Rinston, though they were not in action there.

On the 4th of January, 1863, they went to Washington, N. C. They remained at that place, engaged in ordinary duty, till the latter part of March, when it was besieged by the enemy, and the siege was not abandoned till the 16th of April. The loss of the regiment during this siege was one killed and eight wounded. On the 27th of April they returned to the vicinity of Newbern, where they remained during the summer, making occasional expeditions, on one of which they were engaged at Gum Swamp. On the 16th of October they left for Newport News, and on the 18th of October they left that place for Norfolk and Portsmouth, Va. They remained at these places and in the vicinity, doing provost duty and going on occasional expeditions, till the 29th of April, 1864. During this time a portion of the regiment re-enlisted and received a veteran furlough.

On the 26th of April it went to Norfolk, and on the 1st of May it embarked for Bermuda Hundred, where it arrived on the 5th, and entered at once on the active duties of the campaign. On the 6th it was engaged near Port Walthall, where two were killed and fourteen wounded.

At Arrowfield Church, on the 9th of May, they were again in action, losing five killed and thirteen wounded. In this battle the slaughter of the enemy was severe. On the 15th they were engaged at Drury's Bluff, and there a large number of the regiment were taken prisoners. The remainder of the men joined the army of the Potomac at Cold Harbor, and in the actions in that vicinity they lost heavily in officers and men killed and wounded.

On the 18th of June they were in front of Petersburg, where their loss was ten killed and thirty-five wounded, nearly fifty per cent. of those engaged. They remained in front of Petersburg till the 24th of August, when they joined the forces of General Butler, between the Appomattox and James Rivers.





On the 19th of September they sailed for Beaufort, where they were engaged in provost and picket duty till the 4th of December, when they embarked for Newbern, and landed at Plymouth on the 7th, and made a part of an expedition to Hamilton, from which they returned on the 15th, having had one man killed and two wounded.

On the 11th of January, 1865, they reached Newbern, N. C., in the vicinity of which they remained till March 5th, when, with other forces, they went to South West Creek, where a severe engagement took place on the 8th, in which they lost seven killed and forty-one wounded; and the rest of the regiment, with the exception of one commissioned officer and eight men, were captured with their brigade.

On the 12th this regiment of nine returned to Newbern and engaged in guard and picket duty. A few recruits joined them, and some captured men returned, so that on the 26th of June, when the regiment was mustered out of service, it numbered seven commissioned officers and 132 enlisted men.

*Thirty-first Infantry Regiment.* The Thirty-first was raised in the western part of Massachusetts. It had its camp of rendezvous at Pittsfield and afterward at Lowell. It sailed from Boston on the 21st of February, 1862, and on the 26th of the same month it left Fortress Monroe for Ship Island, in Mississippi Sound. In a gale off Cape Hatteras the transport which they were on grounded on Frying Pan Shoals, and they were compelled to wait at the mouth of Cape Fear River two days for repairs, and at Hilton Head twelve days for further repairs. It left that place on the 12th of March, and on the 23d disembarked at Ship Island, where it remained till the 18th of April. On that day it sailed for New Orleans. The regiment witnessed the bombardment of Ports Jackson and St. Philip, and the splendid naval operations of Admiral Farragut. It ascended the Mississippi River, and arrived at New Orleans on the 1st of May, 1862, and it was the first regiment to land with General Butler and take possession of the city.

In August the regiment was divided, a portion was sent to Ports Jackson and St. Philip, a portion to Kennerlyville, sixteen miles above New Orleans, and a portion to Fort Pike.

Two of the detachments were reunited early in 1863, and on the 12th of February in that year they formed a part of the troops of an expedition down the Plaquemine Bayou, from which it returned to Carrollton on the 19th.

On the 6th of March they advanced with the army from Baton Rouge to Port Hudson, and on the 1st of April they went to Algiers, whence, on the 9th, they went to Brashear and Berwick cities, and on the 11th to Fort Bisland, where, on the 12th, they were sharply engaged with the enemy. They marched thence to Alexandria, on Red River, and returned from there to Port Hudson via Bayou Sara. At Port Hudson they were actively engaged May 25th, May 27th, and June 14th. After the surren-





der of that place they went to Baton Rouge, thence to Donaldsonville, and then back to Baton Rouge.

On the 9th of September the detachment at Fort Pike returned to the regiment which, in December, went to New Orleans and was changed from infantry to cavalry. They passed an uncomfortable month at Carrollton, then had comfortable quarters in a cotton press in New Orleans.

On the 29th of February, 1864, the regiment crossed the Mississippi and marched for the scene of the celebrated Red River Campaign. Like all bodies of cavalry in an active campaign they were constantly on the move, and on the 8th of April they were engaged in the battle of Sabine Cross Roads, and the 23d of the same month in that of Cane River. On the first of May they were engaged at Hudaut's plantation, seventeen miles from Alexandria. During the retreat from that place the regiment was engaged on the 14th, 17th, and 18th, and while the retreat lasted it was constantly on the move.

On the 3d of July it went to Algiers, opposite New Orleans, where the reenlisted veterans received their furlough, and on the 21st they started for Massachusetts, where they arrived August 4th. At the expiration of their furlough they returned to New Orleans, where they arrived on the 19th of September.

On its return the regiment was remounted as cavalry, and during the winter of 1864-5 it was constantly engaged in scouting and patrolling the country above New Orleans and thus protecting the loyal inhabitants of that region. In the discharge of these duties the men of the regiment met with exciting adventures, though they incurred no heavy losses.

In February, 1865, the companies were consolidated to five, and thus constituted the regiment was made a part of a cavalry brigade which was ordered to assemble at Carrollton, near New Orleans, to prepare for the campaign against Mobile.

Early in March they sailed for Barrancas, Florida, and on the 21st started from Pensacola to march across the country and strike the defenses of Mobile in the rear. After a difficult and fatiguing march of ten days, during which they frequently skirmished with the enemy, they arrived at the scene of the siege, and on the 4th of April they were detailed for duty at General Canby's headquarters.

On the 14th of April (Mobile having surrendered) they encamped in the city, where they remained during the balance of their term of service, engaged in guard and provost duty.

On the 11th of September they left Mobile for New Orleans, where they embarked for Boston. They arrived on the 24th, and on the 30th they were mustered out of the service, their work being done and well done.

*Thirty-fourth Regiment.* This regiment was recruited from the five western counties of the State, and it had about 200 men from Berkshire county. Its rendezvous was at Worcester, which place it left for Washington on the 15th of August, 1862. From Washington it marched to





Arlington Heights, near Alexandria, Virginia, where it arrived on the 19th. It remained in this vicinity some time, making several changes of camp.

On the 15th of September it encamped at Fort Lyon, where it remained till May 2d, 1863, when it removed to Upton Hill.

June 2d it went to Washington, where it was engaged in guard and provost duty till July 9th, when it was ordered to Harper's Ferry. It remained there engaged in picket, patrol, and provost duty till the 10th of December, 1863. On the 18th of October an attack was made on the forces at Charlestown, and the Thirty-fourth went in pursuit of the attacking troops. They overtook and defeated them, sustaining a loss of two killed and eight wounded.

On the 10th of December they started on a march for Harrisonburg, where they were nearly surrounded, but they escaped and returned to Harper's Ferry, where they arrived on the 24th, having marched 100 miles in less than four days.

On the 1st of February, 1864, they were ordered to Cumberland, Maryland, but they returned on the 7th. On the 5th of March they went to Monocacy, and on the 7th to Martinsburg, Virginia. They returned to Harper's Ferry on the 2d of April, but went again to Martinsburg on the 17th. From that place they went forward on the 29th of April with the forces under General Sigel.

On the 15th of May they were in action at Newmarket, where they lost 28 killed, 174 wounded, and 18 prisoners. They were again in action at Piedmont on the 15th of June, losing 15 killed and 95 wounded. On the 18th they fought at Lynchburg, where 6 were killed and 41 wounded. July 18th they were engaged at Snicker's Gap, with a loss of 4 killed and 11 wounded. On the 19th of September they were fiercely engaged at the battle of Opequan, losing 9 killed, 100 wounded, and 1 missing. September 22d they were in action at Fisher's Hill, where 19 were wounded. On the 13th of October they were in the action at Cedar Creek, where 9 were killed, 48 wounded, and 40 made prisoners.

During all this campaign the regiment was almost constantly on the march, and its losses in the battles that it fought give evidence that they were not light skirmishes.

The regiment was not again in action till the 29th of March, 1865. On the 18th of December, 1864, it went to Washington, and thence to the James River, where it remained till March 25th, 1865, when it went forward, reaching Hatcher's Run on the 28th, and becoming engaged on the 29th. In the operations before Petersburg the Thirty-fourth was constantly in active service, performing severe marches and frequently fighting. On the 25th of April it entered Richmond, and during the balance of its term of service it was mostly engaged in fatigue and guard duty. On the 16th of June the regiment started for Massachusetts where, on the 6th of July, it was mustered out of the service.

*Thirty-Seventh Infantry.* Nearly one half of this regiment was re-





cruited in Berkshire county. Its place of rendezvous was Pittsfield, and its camp was named, from General Henry S. Briggs, Camp Briggs. It was on the road that leads to Washington, about a mile from the village, where now is the pleasure park. The regiment was full on the 4th of September, 1862, and that date was reckoned the commencement of its term of service. On the 7th it took the cars at Pittsfield for Hudson, where it embarked on a steamboat that took it to Jersey City. From that place it went by railroad to Baltimore, though it was detained on the way by two collisions. From Baltimore it went by cars to Washington.

Immediately after its arrival it crossed into Virginia and encamped about one mile from Long Bridge. After two weeks it went to Frederick, Md., and thence successively to Bakersville, Downsville, Hancock, Cherry Run, Williamsport, Downsville, Berlin, Union, Va., White Plains, New Baltimore, Stafford Court House, White Oak Church, and Fredericksburg where it was under fire, though with but small loss.

On the 18th of December it went into winter quarters at White Oak Church about three miles east from Falmouth. In this camp it remained till January 20th, 1863, when it went on the celebrated "Mud Campaign." It returned to its camp and the men resumed their monotonous life. Under the date March 9th, 1863, the colonel in his report to the adjutant general said: "I laid out a new camp, and the regiment built 160 log houses, every house alike, 12 feet long, 7 feet wide, 5 feet high on the sides and 9 feet in the center, with a fire place to each, and a floor of pine poles. This camp was built by the men in one week with but three axes to a company, and from standing wood."

On the 28th of April they left their camp and on the 3d of May they were engaged at Mayers' Heights and at Salem Heights. They returned to their camp on the 6th of May. They left camp again June 6th, and on the 13th started on their March for Gettysburg. They reached the battle field on July 2d, after a forced march of thirty-four miles, and were immediately ordered to the support of the left of the Union army. On the 3d they were at one time exposed to such a storm of shells that within two minutes their loss in killed and wounded was twenty-three.

On the 5th they joined in the pursuit of the retreating enemy, frequently fighting with their rear guard. On the 7th they marched for Middletown, Md., arriving on the 9th. On the 10th they crossed the South mountain range, and on the 13th skirmished sharply with the rebel pickets. On the 15th they went to Williamsport, on the 17th to Berlin, and on the 19th they crossed the Potomac into Virginia, and marched down the east side of the Blue Ridge to Manassas Gap.

On the 30th of July the regiment was detailed to go to New York. They arrived on the 2d of August and remained in the city and its vicinity till the 14th of October, when they were ordered to Washington. They reported at that place on the 16th, and on the 17th joined their old brigade at Chantilly, Va. They reached Warrenton on the 20th, and on the 7th of November marched for Rappahannock Station, where they





were slightly engaged. They reached Brandy Station on the 11th, but broke camp on the 26th and during a week were marching from point to point, and were several times in line of battle though not engaged. They returned to their camp at Brandy Station on the 3d of December, and remained there during the winter. They left their camp on the 29th of February, 1864, and marched to Madison Court House, but returned on the 2d of March. May 4th they left their encampment, six hundred strong, and crossed the Rapidan, and the next day participated in the first day's battle of the Wilderness, in which they were not heavily engaged, though exposed to a severe musketry fire. On the 6th they were hotly engaged, displaying great gallantry, and losing 29 killed, 102 wounded, and eight missing.

On the 7th they marched for Spottsylvania Court House, where they arrived on the 8th, and till the 12th occupied different positions in the line of battle, with some casualties. On the 12th they were fiercely engaged, losing 13 killed, 32 wounded, and two missing. During some days following this action they were marching from place to place and were several times in line of battle, and in the affairs that occurred they lost four killed, 19 wounded, and five missing.

On the 21st they retired from before Spottsylvania, and on the 8th arrived near the Pamunkey. On the 29th they marched to Hanover Court House, on the 30th to Peake Station, and on the 1st of May to Cold Harbor. At that place they participated in several engagements, suffering a loss of four killed, 29 wounded, and two missing.

On the 12th of June they left the position at Cold Harbor, and arrived in front of Petersburg on the 17th. They remained in various positions in the line of battle till the 29th, when they went to Ream's Station, returning June 2d.

On the 16th of June the veterans of the Seventh, and on the 23d those of the Tenth Massachusetts regiments were attached to this regiment. In the actions in front of Petersburg the regiment lost five killed and seven wounded. On the 9th of July the regiment and attachments went to City Point, and thence to Washington. They were in action at Fort Stevens, where they lost one killed and six wounded. On the 21st of August they were engaged in a brisk skirmish near Summit Point, Va., with a loss of three killed and fourteen wounded. On the 19th of September the regiment crossed the Opequan River, and was engaged with the enemy from noon till dark, losing thirteen killed and seventy-eight wounded. The conduct of the regiment in this action was highly commended. After the battle they remained in Winchester doing provost duty till December 13th, when they returned to the front of Petersburg, where they remained in camp, with two interruptions, till April, 1865. On the 5th of February they left their camp and were employed in digging rifle pits during most of the night. They returned to their camp on the 9th. On the 25th of March they participated in a feint on the enemy's lines near Fort Fisher, in which affair they had three men wounded. On the 2d of April they





participated in the assault on Petersburg, and on the 3d they were the first troops to enter the city. They lost three killed and three wounded in that engagement. Immediately after the fight they started and were marching and counter-marching constantly during several days. On the 6th they were engaged at Saylor's Creek where they fought desperately, inflicting a severe loss on the enemy: more than seventy dead bodies were found on the field after the battle, in their immediate front. Their loss was eight men killed and thirty-one wounded. After the battle of Saylor's Creek they followed the enemy till the surrender on the 9th of April, near Appomattox Court House. The regiment then went successively to Burkesville, Danville, Wilson's Station, Richmond, and Washington. On the 22d they left Washington for Massachusetts, and they were discharged at Readville on the 1st of July, 1865.

*Forty-ninth Regiment.* This, which was a nine months' regiment, was recruited entirely in Berkshire county in the early autumn of 1862. Its first rendezvous was in Pittsfield, at Camp Briggs, so named in honor of Brigadier General Henry S. Briggs, son of ex-Governor G. N. Briggs. At this camp they remained from early in September till the 7th of November, when they went to Worcester. There their regimental organization was completed by the election of Captain W. F. Bartlett,\* colonel, Captain S. B. Sumner, lieutenant-colonel, and Captain Charles T. Plunkett, major. The quarters of the regiment at Worcester were at what was known as Camp Wool, and the companies occupied comfortable barracks. During its stay of less than three weeks at Worcester the regiment received arms and equipments, and on the 29th of November it left for New York. On the 4th of November it crossed East River and marched ten miles to what was known as Camp Banks. There the men were quartered in stables fitted up as barracks, and they remained till January 24th, 1863, when they sailed for New Orleans, where they arrived on the 7th of February. They proceeded up the river to Carrollton, where they remained till the 17th, then sailed for Baton Rouge, where they remained till the 29th. During this time in addition to ordinary camp duties the regiment participated in a feint on Port Hudson.

On the 20th the regiment marched for Port Hudson, and on the 21st it participated in the battle of Plains Store, in which it acquitted itself honorably. In this action Lieutenant Tucker received a wound in his knee which made amputation necessary. On the 27th of May the regi-

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\* William Francis Bartlett, son of Charles Leonard Bartlett, and grandson of Bailey Bartlett, a member of Congress in 1800, was born at Haverhill, June 30th, 1840. When the civil war broke out he was a student in Harvard University, but in April, 1861, he enlisted as a private, and in July was commissioned captain in the 39th regiment. After the return of the 49th he was made colonel of the 57th regiment, and in June, 1863, was promoted major-general for conspicuous gallantry at Port Hudson, and commanded a division of the 9th corps. In 1865 he was brevetted major-general. In the same year he married Agnes, daughter of Robert Fennerty, of Pittsfield, and became a citizen of that town where he died on the 17th of December, 1876.





ment participated in the first assault on Port Hudson. The report of the adjutant general concerning the Forty-ninth in this action was as follows:

"It lost seventy-six killed and wounded, being one-third of the regiment engaged, three companies having been on special service. The regiment lost in that assault as large a proportion as any other regiment, and established its reputation for cool and steady bravery. The brave and intrepid Colonel Bartlett was unfortunately shot through the wrist and heel early in the engagement, while leading the regiment to the assault on horseback. Lieutenant-Colonel Sumner was wounded in the shoulder about the same time. Lieutenants Judd and Deming were killed while gallantly cheering on their men. Eleven of the eighteen officers with the regiment were hit. The command of the regiment devolved on Major Plunkett after the wounding of his superior officers, and he continued in command during the remainder of its term of service, a position which he held with great credit to himself and honor to the regiment."

On the 14th of June the Forty-ninth took part in a feint on the enemy's works, and lost one man killed and seventeen wounded. During the entire time that Port Hudson was invested the regiment was in the front, engaged in the duties of the siege till the surrender took place on the 9th of July, 1863. It was then sent with other troops to Donaldsonville. On the 13th they marched about four miles up Bayou Lafourche, where, by the falling back of other portions of the force, they were nearly surrounded. They made their way to the rest of the command with a loss of one killed, five wounded, and sixteen missing. On the 1st of August the regiment returned to its camp at Baton Rouge, after a campaign of seventy-three days, in which it achieved an honorable distinction.

On the 9th of August the regiment embarked for home via Mississippi River and railroad. They took cars at Cairo on the 18th and arrived in Berkshire county on the 21st. At Pittsfield they were received with the honors which they had so richly earned during their comparatively brief but arduous service.

*Fifty-fourth Regiment (colored).* Recruiting for this regiment commenced in Boston, February 9th, 1863. The place of rendezvous was Readville, and by the 12th of May the regiment was more than full. No bounty was offered, but the State voted a bounty of \$50 per man after the regiment was full. The regiment left the State on the 28th of May, reached Hilton Head June 3d, and sailed thence to Beaufort. On the 8th it reembarked for St. Simon's Island, Ga., whence it went to New Frederica. On the 10th eight companies sailed on an expedition up the Altamaha River, and brought back as a prize a schooner with cotton.

It went successively to Hilton Head, St. Helena Island, Stone Inlet, and James' Island, on which last it was in action near Secessionville, losing fourteen killed, eighteen wounded, and thirteen missing. It went to Morris Island, where it arrived July 18th. On that day was made the





celebrated assault on Fort Wagner, in which this regiment had the advance, and by their heroic valor demonstrated to the country the fighting qualities of colored soldiers. They charged across a distance of 1,000 yards, but after desperate efforts to hold the position which they gained on the parapet, they were repulsed with the loss of 21 killed, 136 wounded, and 104 missing. After this assault they were placed on fatigue duty, and in five months performed more than 50,000 days' work. On the 28th of January, 1864, the Fifty-fourth went on an expedition to Florida, in the course of which it routed a rebel force near Baldwin, and took part in the battle of Orustee, where it lost thirteen killed, sixty-six wounded, and eight missing. They entered this fight with the cry, "Three cheers for Massachusetts and seven dollars a month!"

On the 28th of September, 1864, the men of this regiment were acknowledged as United States soldiers, and paid as such \$13 per month. Prior to this they had been seven times mustered for pay, and \$7 per month had been offered them, but they had refused to accept it. They would give their services, but they would not sell their manhood. On the 30th of November six companies of this regiment were in action at Honey Hill, S. C., where they suffered a loss of three killed, thirty-eight wounded, and four missing.

After the arrival of General Sherman's forces from Atlanta this regiment made connection with them, and were afterward skirmishing almost daily, but without serious loss. On the 18th of April, 1865, they had a fight at Boykin's Mills, near Camden, losing two killed and twenty wounded.

During its entire term of service this regiment acquitted itself with honor, and demonstrated to the country and the world that as soldiers colored men were not in any respect inferior to their white brethren.

*Fifty-sixth Regiment.* This regiment, which was largely composed of veterans, was recruited in the autumn of 1863 and the spring of 1864. It left the State April 18th, 1864, arrived at Annapolis on the 20th, at Washington on the 25th of the same month, and at Rappahannock Station on the 3d of May. On the 6th it was engaged in the action of the Wilderness where it sustained a loss in killed, wounded, and missing of 251. It was next engaged, May 12th, at Spottsylvania, where it lost 72. It was again engaged there on the 18th, when 17 were left on the field. On the 24th it was in action near Oxford Ford, on the North Anna, where it left with the enemy its colonel and 36 men. It took part early in June in the operations near Bethesda Church, but was not severely engaged, and suffered only a small loss. On the 17th of June it participated in an assault on the enemy's works at Petersburg. These works were carried at the point of the bayonet, but the regiment lost 40 in the action.

From that time till July 30th they did duty in the trenches, losing six officers and 23 men. On the 30th of July they were in action at the mine explosion, losing six officers and 45 men. August 10th they took





part in the operations against the Weldon Railroad, losing 15. On the 30th of September they were in the action at Poplar Grove Church, where their loss was eight. They were again engaged on the 28th of October at Hatcher's Run, where their casualties were 14 enlisted men. The regiment went into the trenches in front of Petersburg on the 18th of December, and remained in the lines before that place till the 23th of March, 1865. On that day they relieved the Fifty-ninth near Fort Steadman, where they were in action, earning a proud record. They entered Petersburg on the 3d of April, and soon after the assassination of Lincoln they went to Washington, where they remained till August, 1865, when they were mustered out of the service.

*Sixty-first Regiment.* Recruiting for this regiment was commenced in August, 1864, and in October a battalion of five full companies was sent to City Point, Virginia. It was soon afterward put on duty with an engineer brigade laboring on fortifications.

On the 17th of November it was joined by the sixth company. They participated in the operations before Petersburg, and on the 12th of December went to City Point again. There they were joined on the 5th of January, 1865, by the seventh company, on the 13th of February by the eighth company, and on the 15th of March by the ninth and tenth companies. On the 17th of March the regiment was detached from the engineer brigade, in which it had been constantly employed on fortifications, and assigned to a brigade that was engaged in guard and provost duty. It was in action at Fort Sedgwick (Fort Hell) on the 2d of April, 1865. In a fierce assault on Fort Mahone this regiment lost 35 men, which was considered a small loss considering the fierceness of the attack and the severity of the musketry and artillery fire through which they charged. On the 12th of May the regiment went to Washington, and on the 23d participated in the grand review there. In June five companies returned to Massachusetts where they were mustered out on the 17th of that month, and the others remained as a separate battalion till the 20th of July, when they returned, and were mustered out on the 1st of August.



## CHAPTER XVI.

### CIVIL HISTORY OF BERKSHIRE COUNTY.

Incorporation.—Population.—County Officers.—Members of Congress.—Members of Legislature.

PRIOR to its incorporation Berkshire county was a part of the county of Hampshire, which was in 1811-12 divided into the three counties of Franklin, Hampden and Hampshire. Berkshire was incorporated by an act of the Provincial Legislature passed at the session of May, 1761. At that time it included the towns of Sheffield, Stockbridge, New Marlboro, and Egremont. There were also within the limits of the county the plantations of Poontoosuck, now Pittsfield; New Framingham, now Lanesboro; West Hoosic, now Williamstown; No. 1, now Tyringham; No. 3, now Sandisfield, and No. 4, now Becket. As now constituted the county consists of thirty-two towns, as follows: Adams, incorporated in 1778; Alford, 1773; Becket, 1765; Cheshire, 1793; Clarksburg, 1798; Dalton, 1784; Egremont, 1760; Florida, 1805; Great Barrington, 1761; Hancock, 1776; Hinsdale, 1804; Lanesboro, 1765; Lee, 1777; Lenox, 1767; Monterey, 1847; Mount Washington, 1779; New Ashford, 1801; New Marlboro, 1759; North Adams, 1878; Otis, 1778; Peru, 1771; Pittsfield, 1761; Richmond, 1765; Sandisfield, 1762; Savoy, 1797; Sheffield, 1733; Stockbridge, 1739; Tyringham, 1762; Washington, 1777; West Stockbridge, 1774; Williamstown, 1765; and Windsor, 1771.

The act of incorporation described the boundaries of the county as follows:

"Beginning at the western end of Granville, where it touches the Connecticut line, to run northerly as far as said west line of Granville runs, then easterly to the southwest corner of Brandford, and to run by the west line of the same town to the northwesterly corner thereof; from thence northerly in a direct line to the southeast corner of No. 4, and so running by the easterly line of No. 4 to the northeast corner thereof; and thence in a direct course to the southwest corner of Charlemont, and so northerly in the west line of the same town till it comes to the north bound of the province, and northerly on the line between this province and the province of New Hampshire [now Vermont], and on the west by the utmost limits of this province."

The act took effect on the 1st of July, 1761. It was named Berkshire from the county of Berks, or Berkshire, England.





The population of Berkshire county at the end of each decade since 1780 has been as follows:

PLACES.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880
Adams.....	2040	1698	1763	1830	2048	2020	2177	2024	1966	2201
Alford.....	577	518	522	512	512	519	507	545	530	548
Becket.....	751	950	1025	981	1065	1125	1226	1578	1510	1123
Berkshire.....		1325	1315	1267	1651	1651	1808	1511	1758	1507
Clarksburg.....		250	201	274	015	403	301	420	609	724
Dalton.....	554	859	779	817	701	1142	1020	1245	1232	2002
Eastmont.....	759	835	790	865	889	1036	1011	1079	907	875
Florida.....			302	451	454	445	501	645	1022	430
Great Barrington.....	1378	1754	1784	1968	2270	2690	3204	3871	4320	4633
Hancock.....	1211	1187	1049	1165	1051	958	759	816	882	611
Hinsdale.....			822	812	770	650	1050	1511	1695	1795
Lanesboro.....	2142	1443	1300	1319	1192	1048	1229	1308	1393	1291
Lee.....	1170	1267	1305	1384	1840	2281	2029	2120	2090	2603
Lenox.....	1169	1041	1310	1315	1355	1333	1599	1711	1965	2560
Monterey.....							761	758	655	645
Mount Washington.....	67	291	474	467	345	470	331	321	256	205
New Ashford.....	460	390	411	358	285	229	186	209	268	303
New Marlboro.....	1550	1848	1822	1668	1656	1649	1847	1782	1655	1870
North Adams.....										10191
Otis.....	605	1102	1111	981	1014	1158	1224	908	960	783
Peru.....	1041	1301	912	748	710	610	510	460	455	461
Pittsfield.....	1992	2361	2665	2768	3301	4060	5872	8045	11112	13001
Richmond.....	1255	1044	1011	923	844	1059	907	914	1091	1131
Sandisfield.....	1581	1857	1795	1646	1655	1451	1040	1585	1482	1107
Savoy.....		430	711	852	928	914	955	904	861	715
Sheffield.....	1899	2050	2439	2476	2505	2322	2736	2621	2535	2204
Stockbridge.....	1336	1261	1372	1377	1581	1581	1741	2150	2005	2307
Tyringham.....	1397	1712	1680	1443	1351	1402	821	750	537	512
Washington.....	588	914	942	759	701	840	955	1048	894	493
West Stockbridge.....	1113	1002	1040	1031	1208	1330	1710	1599	1921	1821
Williamstown.....	1769	2086	1843	2010	2124	2076	2626	2611	3159	3801
Windsor.....	916	961	1108	1081	1042	872	897	809	686	644
Total.....	30291	33885	35790	35720	37835	40882	46591	52120	61827	69002

The totals here given include the population of several unincorporated tracts.

When the county was incorporated the boundary line between Massachusetts and New York was not settled, and it remained a matter of dispute till after the Revolution. The Dutch patentees claimed lands as far east as the Housatonic River, and the State of New York claimed jurisdiction over the territory embraced in these claims. Commissioners were finally appointed by Congress, at the request of both States, to survey and establish the line, which they did in 1787. This line left a considerable portion of what was previously Hancock in New York, but along the towns of West Stockbridge and Alford it left in Massachusetts a gore, which was afterward annexed to those towns.

In 1783 the town of Middlefield, Hampshire county, was incorporated. This town included "the northeast corner of Becket, the south side of Partridgefield (now Peru) a part of Washington, and the land called Prescott's Grants," all in the county of Berkshire. Afterward a strip of land belonging to Plainfield and Cammington, in Hampshire county, was annexed to Windsor, in Berkshire. In 1793 a portion of Hawley, then known as Plantation No. 7, and lying within the limits of Berkshire county, was annexed to Hawley and Hampshire county. A tract of land in the northeast corner of Berkshire county was, in 1822, made a portion of the county of Franklin, and along with a portion of the town of Rowe, in that county, was erected



into the town of Monroe. The result of these changes was a slight diminution of the area of Berkshire county.

During many years after the division of the county into towns there were three unincorporated tracts within its limits. One of these lay west of Williamstown, and had the form of a triangle three and one-half miles in length along that town, and one in breadth at its base on Hancock. This was annexed to Williamstown in 1838. Another, called Zoar, was a broken tract lying east from Florida, and principally east from Deerfield River. In 1800 this tract had 215 inhabitants. It was made a part of the town of Zoar in Hampden county, in 1838. Boston Corner, so called because it was the southwest corner of Boston State, or Massachusetts, was sometimes called, was a triangular tract of 940 acres which was not included in Mount Washington, though within the limits of Berkshire county. In 1850 it had seventy-three inhabitants. It was ceded to New York in 1853.

The following have been sheriffs of Berkshire county: Elijah Williams, of Stockbridge, appointed 1761; Israel Dickinson, Pittsfield, 1776; John Fellows, Sheffield (during Revolution); Caleb Hyde, Lenox, 1781; Thompson J. Skinner, Williamstown, 1791; Simon Larned, Pittsfield, 1792; Henry C. Brown, Pittsfield, 1812; Thomas Twining, Sandisfield, 1838; Edward F. Ensign, Sheffield, 1843; Thomas Twining, Sandisfield, 1848; Edward F. Ensign, Sheffield, 1852; George S. Willis, Pittsfield, 1853; Graham A. Root, Sheffield, 1855; Hiram B. Wellington, Pittsfield, 1881.

The county clerks have been: Elijah Dwight, of Great Barrington, 1761; Henry W. Dwight, Stockbridge, 1781; Joseph Woodbridge, Stockbridge, 1803; Charles Sedgwick, Lenox, 1821; Henry W. Taft, Lenox (present incumbent), 1836.

No treasurer is known to have been appointed prior to 1766. Then and since they have been as follows: Silas Kellogg, Sheffield, 1766; Mark Hopkins, Great Barrington, 1774; Henry W. Dwight, Stockbridge, 1784; Moses Ashley, Stockbridge, 1788; Barnabas Bidwell, Stockbridge, 1791; Caleb Hyde, Lenox, 1810; Joseph Tucker, Lenox, 1813; George J. Tucker, Lenox, 1847; George H. Tucker, Pittsfield, 1878.

From the incorporation of the county, in 1761, to 1790 there was but one registry of deeds at Great Barrington. The register was Mark Hopkins till 1776, and Moses Hopkins till 1790. In that year the county was divided into three districts, Southern, Middle, and Northern, and the previous records were removed to the county seat in the Middle district. The registers in the Southern district, since 1790, have been: Moses Hopkins, Charles W. Hopkins, Samuel Newman, Isaac Seeley, and John C. New, the present register.

In the Middle district they have been: Caleb Hyde, Samuel Quincy, Joseph Tucker, George J. Tucker, Theodore L. Allen, and Henry M. Pitt, the present incumbent.

In the Northern district: Wolcott Hubbell, James Barker, Timothy Whitney, Samuel Bacon, Luther Washburn, George N. Briggs, Richard Whitney, Silas P. Butler, Herbert A. Fuller, and E. Earl Merchant, the present incumbent.

Members of Congress from Berkshire county. Senators: 1796-99, Theodore Sedgwick, of Stockbridge; 1854-55, Julius Rockwell, Pittsfield; 1875-, Henry Lawrence Dawes, Pittsfield.

Representatives: 1790-97, Theodore Sedgwick, Stockbridge; 1797-99, Thompson J. Skinner, Williamstown; 1799-1801, Theodore Sedgwick, Stockbridge; 1801-3,





John Bacon, Stockbridge; 1803-6, Barnabas Bidwell, Stockbridge; 1806-7, Simon Larned, Pittsfield; 1807-13, Ezekiel Bacon, Pittsfield; 1813-14, Daniel Dewey, Williamstown; 1814-17, John W. Hulbert, Pittsfield; 1817-21, Henry Shaw, Lanesboro; 1821-29, Henry W. Dwight, Stockbridge; 1829-43, George Nixon Briggs, Lanesboro and Pittsfield; 1843-53, Julius Rockwell, Pittsfield; 1853-55, John Z. Goodrich, Stockbridge; 1855-57, Mark Trafton, Westfield; 1857-75, Henry L. Dawes, North Adams and Pittsfield; 1875-77, Chester W. Chapin, Springfield; 1877- , George D. Robinson, Chicopee.

The county has always been represented by two State Senators. For a short time a portion of Hampshire county was included with the southern Berkshire district, and Messrs. Kingman, Brewster and Orcut, residents in that county, were elected for single terms from that district.

The following is a complete list of the Senators: 1780- , Jahleel Woodbridge, Stockbridge; James Barker, Cheshire; 1781-2, Jahleel Woodbridge, John Bacon, Stockbridge; 1783, Jahleel Woodbridge, Stockbridge; Jonathan Smith, Lanesboro; 1784, Jahleel Woodbridge, Theodore Sedgwick, Stockbridge; 1785, Theodore Sedgwick, Stockbridge; Thompson J. Skinner, Williamstown; 1786-87, Thompson J. Skinner, Williamstown; Elijah Dwight, Great Barrington; 1789-93, Elijah Dwight, Great Barrington; Thompson J. Skinner, Williamstown; 1794-96, Thompson J. Skinner, Williamstown; John Bacon, Stockbridge; 1797, Thomas Ives, Great Barrington; William Williams, Dalton; 1798, Thomas Ives, Great Barrington; John Bacon, Stockbridge; 1799-1800, William Williams, Dalton; David Rosseter, Richmond; 1801-2, Thompson J. Skinner, Williamstown; Barnabas Bidwell, Stockbridge; 1803-4, John Bacon, Barnabas Bidwell, Stockbridge; 1805-6, John Bacon, Stockbridge; Timothy Childs, Pittsfield; 1807-8-9, Timothy Childs, Pittsfield; Azariah Eggleston, Lenox; 1810, Timothy Childs, Pittsfield; William P. Walker, Lenox; 1811, William P. Walker, Lenox; William Towner, Williamstown; 1812, William Towner, Williamstown; Lemuel Barstow, Great Barrington; 1813-14, Joseph Whiton, Lee; William Hubbard, Lanesboro; 1815, Timothy Childs, Pittsfield; William Walker, Lenox; 1816, Caleb Hyde, Lenox, John Whiting, Great Barrington; 1817, John Whiting, Great Barrington; Daniel Noble, Williamstown; 1818, Caleb Hyde, Lenox; Daniel Noble, Williamstown; 1819-20, Caleb Hyde, Lenox; Phineas Allen, Pittsfield; 1821, Phineas Allen, Pittsfield; Lemuel Moffit, West Stockbridge; 1822, Lemuel Moffit, West Stockbridge; Jonathan Allen, Pittsfield; 1823, Jonathan Allen, Pittsfield; George Hull, Sandisfield; 1824, George Hull, Sandisfield; Rodman Hazard, Hancock; 1825, Rodman Hazard, Hancock; Samuel Shears, Sheffield; 1826, Samuel Shears, Sheffield; Peter Briggs, Adams; 1827, Peter Briggs, Adams; Joseph B. Hill, West Stockbridge; 1828, Charles Mattoon, Lenox; Robert F. Barnard, Sheffield; 1829, Robert F. Barnard, Sheffield; Samuel McKay, Pittsfield; 1830, Russel Brown, Cheshire; Samuel McKay, Pittsfield; 1831-32, Russell Brown, Cheshire; William Curtis, Egremont; 1833-34, Thomas B. Strong, Pittsfield; Edward Stevens, New Marlboro; 1835, Henry Shaw, Lanesboro; William Porter jr., Lee; 1836, Russel Brown, Cheshire; Joseph Fitch, New Marlboro; 1837, Henry H. Childs, Pittsfield; Joseph Fitch, New Marlboro; 1838-39, Lester Filley, Otis; Stephen B. Brown, Adams; 1840, Russell Brown, Cheshire; Increase Sumner, Great Barrington; 1841, William C. Plunkett, Adams; William Williams, Stockbridge; 1842, Thomas F. Plunkett, Pittsfield; Increase Sumner, Great Barrington; 1843, Thomas F. Plunkett, Pittsfield; Ira Curtis, Sheffield; 1844, Henry H. Cook, Lenox; Asabel Buck 16.





Lanesboro; 1845, Asahel Foote, Williamstown; Charles W. Hopkins, Great Barrington; 1846-47, Samuel A. Hulbert, Lee; Thomas A. Bowen, Adams; 1848, Charles H. Plunkett, Hinsdale; John Z. Goodrich, Stockbridge; 1849, John Z. Goodrich, Stockbridge; William Phelps, Lenox; 1850, Henry L. Dawes, Adams; Nathaniel Benjamin, Egremont; 1851, Asa G. Welch, Lee; Richard P. Brown, Egremont; 1852, James T. Robinson, Adams; Richard P. Brown, Egremont; 1853, Henry H. Cook, Lenox; Ensign H. Kellogg, Pittsfield; 1854, Jonathan E. Field, Stockbridge; Ensign H. Kellogg, Pittsfield; 1855, Billings Palmer, Great Barrington; Andrew A. Richmond, Adams; 1856, Benjamin F. Mills, Williamstown; William Taylor, Lee; 1857, Henry L. Sabin, Williamstown; William Taylor, Lee; 1858, Zenas M. Crane, Dalton; John Branning, Lee; 1859, James T. Robinson, Adams; John Branning, Lee; 1860, Samuel B. Sumner, Great Barrington; Lansing J. Cole, Cheshire; 1861, Lansing J. Cole, Cheshire; Orlo Burt, Sandisfield; 1862, Thomas F. Plunkett, Pittsfield; Orlo Burt, Sandisfield; 1863-64, Jonathan E. Field, Stockbridge; Edwin F. Jenks, Adams; 1865, Jonathan E. Field, Stockbridge; Paul A. Chadbourne, Williamstown; 1866, Joseph Tucker, Lenox; Paul A. Chadbourne, Williamstown; 1867, Samuel W. Bowerman, Pittsfield; Joseph Tucker, Lenox; 1868, Samuel W. Bowerman, Pittsfield; Marshal Wilcox, Lee; 1869, Charles J. Kittredge, Hinsdale; Richmond Kingman, Cummington; 1870, Charles J. Kittredge, Hinsdale; Joseph A. Benjamin, Egremont; 1871, Richard Goodman, Lenox; Shepard Thayer, Adams; 1872, Shepard Thayer, Adams; Elisha H. Brewster, Worthington; 1873-74, Edward Learned, Pittsfield; Prentiss C. Baird, Lee; 1875, Lysander J. Orcutt, Cummington; William H. Phillips, Pittsfield; 1876, Byron Weston, Dalton; Norman W. Shores, Lee; 1877, Ensign H. Kellogg, Pittsfield; Harrison Garfield, Lee; 1878, Horace J. Canfield, Stockbridge; Frederick P. Brown, Adams; 1879, Dallas J. Dean, Adams; Justin Dewey, Great Barrington; 1880, James W. Dwyer, North Adams; Elizur Smith, Lee; 1881, Francis W. Rockwell, Pittsfield; Elizur Smith, Lee; 1882, Francis W. Rockwell, Pittsfield; John M. Seeley, Great Barrington; 1883, Foster E. Swift, North Adams; John M. Seeley, Great Barrington; 1884-85, S. Proctor Thayer, North Adams; Herbert C. Joyner, Great Barrington.

The following list of the representatives from the towns and districts in Berkshire county was obtained from the court records, the House journals, and the original returns from the towns, in the office of the secretary of the commonwealth.

*Adams:* Captain Reuben Hinman, Captain Enos Parker, 1780; Captain Enos Parker, 1781; Enos Parker, Esq., 1782; Joab Stafford, Esq., Captain Reuben Hinman, 1783; Captain Reuben Hinman, 1784; Captain Israel Jones, 1785-86; Captain Reuben Hinman, 1787-88; Jonathan Remington, 1789; Captain Reuben Hinman, 1790-91; Israel Jones, Esq., 1792-97; Abraham Howland, 1798-1801; Stephen Jencks, 1805-6; Elisha Wells, 1807-8; Elisha Wells, Thomas Farnum, 1809; Thomas Farnum, John Waterman, 1810; Thomas Farnum, James Mason, 1811-12; Daniel Read, John Waterman, 1813; Daniel Read, 1814; John Bucklen, Henry Wilmarth, 1815; Henry Wilmarth, William P. Briggs, 1816; Henry Wilmarth, 1817; Isaac Brown, 1818-19; Richmond Brown, 1820-21; William E. Brayton, 1822; William E. Brayton, Richmond Brown, 1823; Peter Briggs, William Waterman, 1824; Peter Briggs, 1825; James Mason, 1826; James Mason, Nathan Putnam, 1827; Richmond Brown, Henry Wilmarth, Edward Richmond, 1828; Richmond Brown, Thomas Farnum, Edward Richmond, 1829; William E. Brayton, Edward Richmond, Thomas Farnum, 1830; William E. Brayton, Isaac C. Hoxie, James Wilbur, 1831; Thomas





Farnum, Elisha Kingsley, Isaac W. Hoxie, James Wilbur, 1832; David Anthony, Sanford Blackington, James Mason, Alpheus Smith, 1833; Everal Estes, Daniel Jenks, Elisha Kingsley, George A. Lapham, 1834; Stephen B. Brown, Everal Estes, Daniel Jenks, George A. Lapham, 1835; Ebenezer Cole, Henry Wilmarth, 1836; Alanson Cady, Isaac Dean, Daniel A. Wells, Henry Wilmarth, 1837; John Hall, Joseph L. White, Shubael Wilmarth, 1838-39; Snell Babbutt, Lorenzo Rice, Ezra D. Whitaker, 1840; Snell Babbutt, Lorenzo Rice, 1841; William Jenks, Edmund Badger, 1842-43; Sylvander Johnson, George Millard, 1847; Henry L. Dawes, Dallas J. Dean, 1848; Henry L. Dawes, Charles Marsh, 1849; Salmon Burlingame, Charles Marsh, 1850; Stephen L. Arnold, John H. Ott, 1851; Stephen L. Arnold, Henry L. Dawes, 1852; Andrew J. Richmond, Henry Tyler, 1853; Andrew J. Richmond, John M. Seeley, 1854; Lansing Adams, Edwin F. Jenks, 1855; Ellhu C. Hawkes, Daniel Upton, 1856; Salmon Burlingame, Henry Tyler, 1857.

*Alford:* See list for Sheffield, with which Alford was represented from 1773 to 1775 inclusive.

John Adams, 1781-82; Ehud Hopkins, 1784; Captain William Brunson, 1785, 1787; John Huriburt, Esq., 1788; Elijah Fitch, 1808, 1810, 1812; Aaron Kinn, 1813-15; Daniel Barrett, 1827-28; Ezra C. Tickner, 1829-30; Hugo Dewey, 1831-32; Chester Foot, 1833-34; Stephen M. Church, 1835-36; Roswell Pickett, 1837; Elijah R. Williams, 1840; Sebre Colkins, 1841; William Stoddard, 1842; Ezra C. Tickner, 1843; Roswell Pickett, 1847; William Milligan, 1851; Frederick Fitch, 1852; James Shead, 1855.

*Becket:* Jonathan Wadsworth, 1774; Nathaniel Kingsley, Esq., 1777, 1780, 1782, 1784-85, 1790, 1792; George Conant, 1805-16, 1819; Benjamin C. Perkins, 1820; George Conant, 1821, 1823; Gains Carter, 1824; Benjamin C. Perkins, 1827-30; Eliada Kingsley, 1831; Wolcott Chaffee, 1832; Timothy Snow, 1833-34; Reuben Smith, 1835; Origen A. Perkins, 1836; Kendal Baird, 1837; Arvad Chapman, 1838; Isaac Stevens, 1839; Oliver L. Millard, 1841; Mark P. Carter, 1842; Isaac S. Wadsworth, 1843-44; Prentiss Chaffee, 1845; William S. Huntington, 1846; Stephen W. Carter, 1848; Numan R. Chaffee, 1850; Nathan Barnes, 1851; Joseph H. Mills, 1852; Henry C. Bidwell, 1853; Jonathan W. Wheeler, 1854; Mark P. Carter, 1855; John Smith, 1857.

*Cheshire:* Daniel Brown, 1793; Jonathan Remington, Esq., 1794-96; Captain Daniel Brown, 1797; Jonathan Richardson, 1798; Daniel Brown, 1799-1801; Elisha Wells, 1802; Jonathan Richardson, 1803-6; Daniel Brown, 1807-8; Jonathan Richardson, Joseph Bucklin, 1809; Joseph Bucklin, John Wells jr., 1810; John Wells jr., Rev. John Leland, 1811; John Leland, John Wells, 1812; John Leland jr., 1813; John Wells, 1814; Allen Brown, 1815-16; Dexter Mason, 1817; Ethan A. Rix, 1818-20; Francis Fisk, 1821-23; Russel Brown, 1824-25; Joshua Mason, 1826-27; James Brown, 1828-29; Nathan Sayles, 1830-31; Nathaniel Bliss, 1832-33; Lyman Northrup, 1834-35; Noah Y. Bushnell, 1836-37; Stephen Northrup, 1838-39; Noah Y. Bushnell, 1840-41; Warner Farnum, 1842-43; Andrew Bennett, 1845-46; John M. Bliss, 1850; Silas Cole, 1851; R. C. Brown, 1852; Luther B. Loomis, 1853; John C. Wolcott, 1854; William G. Waterman, 1855; Russell C. Brown, 1856.

*Clarksbury:* Salah Clark, 1838; Levi Ketchum, 1841; Samuel Clark, 1842; Daniel Mowry, 1844; Benjamin W. Clark, 1852.

*Dalton:* John Chamberlain jr., 1806-7, 1809-10; Nathaniel Kellogg, 1811; Zenas Crane, 1812-13; Calvin Waldo, 1814; Abner Potter, 1815-16; Henry





Marsh, 1819; David Carson, 1823-24; Grenville D. Weston, 1827-29; Zenas Crane, 1830-31; Simeon W. Wright, 1832; Henry Marsh, 1833; Simeon W. Wright, 1834; Henry Marsh, 1835; Caleb W. Ensign, 1836-37; Daniel Lawrence, 1838-39; John Chamberlain, 1840-41; George W. Branch, 1842-43; David Smith, 1844-45; Cyrus Cleveland, 1846-47; Samuel L. Parker, 1850; Burr Chamberlain, 1851-52; Thomas G. Carson, 1856; James Wilson, 1857.

*Egremont*: See list for Sheffield, with which Egremont was represented from 1761 to 1775, inclusive.

Oliver Pier, 1777; Captain John Holden, 1780; Ephraim Fitch, 1781; Captain Oliver Pier, 1782-86; Captain David Ostrom, 1787; Ephraim Fitch Esq., 1788-91; Nicholas Race, 1792-5; Joseph Benjamin, 1797-1800; Nicholas Race, 1801; Francis Heare, 1802; Nicholas Race, 1803; Francis Heare, 1805; James Baldwin, 1806-9; Octavius Joyner, 1810; James Baldwin, 1811; Andrew Bacon, 1812; John Tuller, 1813-14; Wilber Curtis, 1816-17; James Baldwin, 1818; Joel Crippen, 1819; Seth Newman, 1820; James Baldwin, 1821; Levi Hare, 1823; Josiah Millard, 1824; John Hollenbeck, 1825; Uriah Sornberger, 1826-27; Ephraim Baldwin, 1828; Wilbur Curtis, 1829; Ephraim Baldwin, 1830; Joel Crippen, 1831-32; John Chadwick, 1833; Seymour Joyner, 1834; Solomon Winchel, 1835; Josiah Millard, 1836; Samuel Newman, 1837; Benjamin Baldwin, 1838; Phaon Trueman, 1839; Richard P. Brown, 1840; Samuel Newman, 1841; Chester Goodale, 1842; Philo Joyner, 1843; Almon J. Loring, 1846; Henry Dewey, 1847; Loomis Austin, 1848; James Baldwin, 1851; Pliny Karner jr., 1852; James H. Rowley, 1853; Milo Talmadge, 1854; Abner Brown, 1855.

*Florida*: Thomas Tower, 1838; William Tower, 1841; Israel Whitecomb, 1843; Daniel Bradley, 1848; Ephraim Tower, 1851; Jesse H. Kemp, 1852; Nabom P. Brown, 1853.

*Great Barrington*: See list for Sheffield, with which Great Barrington was represented from 1763 to 1775, inclusive.

William Whiting, Esq., 1776; Captain William King, Captain Silas Goodrich, 1777; Jonathan Nash, 1779; Major William King, Jonathan Nash, 1780; W. Whiting Esq., 1781; William King Esq., 1782; Major W. King, 1783; Elijah Dwight Esq., 1784-5; Thomas Ives, 1786; Major William King, 1787; Thomas Ives, 1788-89; Elijah Dwight Esq., 1791; Thomas Ives Esq., 1792; Elijah Dwight, 1793; David Wainwright, 1794; Thomas Ives Esq., 1795; Trueman Wheeler Esq., 1796; Thomas Ives Esq., 1797-98; John Kellogg, 1799-1800; Thomas Ives, 1801-3; Samuel Whiting, 1804; Thomas Ives, 1805; David Wainwright, 1806; John Nichols, 1807; Thomas Ives, David Wainwright, 1808-10; Lucius King, 1811; David Leavenworth, Samuel Rosseter, 1812-13; David Leavenworth, 1814; John Whiting, 1815; John Whiting, John Seley, 1816; John Seley, 1817; Reuben Bacon, 1818-19; Isaac L. Vandeusen, 1820-21; Benjamin Rogers, 1822-23; Ebenezer Pope, 1824-25; George Beckwith, 1826; Isaac L. Vandeusen, 1827-28; Charles W. Hopkins, 1829-30; Ralph Taylor, 1831; Ralph Taylor, Grotious Dewey, 1832; Increase Sumner, 1833; Increase Sumner, Jacob H. Van Deusen, 1834; Charles Foote, Henry Loop, 1835; William M. Battelle, Isaac Seeley jr., 1836-37; George Pynchon, Jacob Burghardt, 1838-39; Perley D. Whitmore, Philip Barnes, 1840; Augustus Gaddings, 1841; Jonathan Baldwin, 1842; Edward P. Woodworth, 1843; William Salkirk, 1844; Bazy W. Pattison, 1845; Almon J. Loring, 1846; Elliott Munton, 1847; John R. Lawton, 1848; Edmund Pixley, 1849; Ebenezer Chadwick, 1850; Noble B. Pickett,





1851-52; Charles N. Emerson, 1853; George Taylor, 1854; Calvin Rood, 1855; Charles J. Taylor, 1856; Lorenzo H. Rice, 1857.

*Hancock:* Asa Douglas, 1779; Samuel Hurd Esq., 1780-85; Captain Tyrannus Collins, 1788; David Vaughn, 1789-90; Samuel Dyer, 1791; Captain Simeon Martin, 1792, 1800; Rodman Hazard, 1806, 1809-12; Willet Gardner, 1813; Augustus Stanton, 1814; Rodman Hazard, 1815, 1817, 1820; John Gardner, 1811; Rodman Hazard, 1823; John Whitney, 1824, 1827; Caleb Eldridge, 1825-29; Samuel W. Wilson, 1831-32; John Whitney, 1834; Elijah Goodrich jr., 1836-37; William Hadsch, 1838-39; Calvin P. Lapham, 1841; Philander H. Thomas, 1842; Gardner Smith, 1846; Rufus L. Mason, 1847; Leonard Dair, 1848; Augustus Smith, 1849; Gardner Eldridge, 1851; Hiram S. Smith, 1852; Rufus L. Mason, 1855.

*Hinsdale:* Theodore Hinsdale, 1806; Thomas Allen, 1808-9; William Pearce, 1810; John Pierce, 1811; Artemas Thompson, 1812-14; Abel Kitteridge, 1815; Simon Huntington, 1816; Thomas Allen, 1820; Selden Spencer, 1826; Ichabod Emmons, 1828-29; Abel Kittredge, 1830; Ichabod Emmons, 1831-32; Robert Millican, 1833-34; Daniel H. Warner, 1835; Ichabod Emmons, 1836; Henry Putnam, 1837-38; William Hinsdale, 1839-40; John Pierce, 1841; Daniel Eames, 1842-43; Oliver P. Colt, 1844; Charles H. Plunkett, 1847; Monroe Emmons, 1849, 1851; Elijah H. Goodrich, 1852; Gordon Parish, 1853; John M. Tuttle, 1854; Francis Watkins, 1855.

*Lanesboro:* New Ashford was represented with this town from 1788 to 1814 inclusive.

Peter Curtis, 1772-74; Colonel Jonathan Smith, 1776; James Barker Esq., Captain Asa Barns, Colonel Jonathan Smith, James Harris, 1780; Colonel Asa Barns, Jedediah Hubbill, 1781; Colonel Asa Barns, Colonel Jonathan Smith, 1782; Colonel Jonathan Smith, 1783; Captain Daniel Brown, 1784; Hon. James Barker, Esq., Samuel Starkweather, 1785; Hon. James Barker, Esq., W. Starkweather, 1786; Colonel Jonathan Smith, William Starkweather, 1787; Captain Daniel Brown, 1788; Captain Daniel Brown, William Starkweather Esq., 1789; Gideon Wheeler Esq., 1790; Gideon Wheeler Esq., W. Starkweather, 1791-92; Gideon Wheeler, 1793; William Starkweather, 1794; Gideon Wheeler, 1795-97, 1799-1803; Samuel Hill Wheeler, 1802-3; Samuel H. Wheeler, Richard Whitman, 1809-10; Samuel H. Wheeler, 1811; Aaron Barnes, Richard Whitman, 1812; Henry Hubbard, 1814; William H. Tyler, 1815; Peter Burr Curtis, 1816; Asa Burbank, 1817; Nehemiah Talcott, 1818-20; John Young, 1821-22; Truman Tyrrel jr., 1823; Henry Shaw, 1824-30; William H. Taylor, 1831; Henry Shaw, 1832-33; Russell A. Gibbs, 1834; Russell A. Gibbs, William H. Tyler, 1835; Bushrod Buck, Algernon S. Hubbell, 1836; Asahel Buck jr., 1837-38, 1840-41; John Young, 1843; Henry Mead, 1844; Socrates Squire, 1845; William D. B. Lynn, 1846; Stoddard Hubbell, 1849; Truman Coman, 1850; Asahel Buck, 1851; Andrew J. Lewis, 1852-53; Samuel Bliss, 1854; Mason S. Palmer, 1855; Veloras Burlingham, 1857.

*Lee:* Amos Mansfield, 1780; William Ingersol, 1781; Ebenezer Jenkins, 1783-86; Captain Josiah Yale, 1787; Ebenezer Jenkins, Esq., 1788, 1790; Captain Josiah Yale, 1792; Ebenezer Jenkins, Esq., 1794; Captain Josiah Yale, 1796-98; Joseph Whiton, 1799, 1801-4; Jared Bradley, 1805-7; Josiah Yale, 1808-9; Joseph Whiton, John Bradley, 1810; Jared Bradley, Joseph Whiton, 1811-12; Jared Bradley, 1813; James Whiton, 1814-16; John B. Perry, 1817; Gershom Bassett, 1818-19; John B. Perry, 1820; Gershom Bassett, 1821; John Nye jr., 1822; John Nye jr., Lemuel Bassett, 1823; Lemuel Bassett, 1824; Hubbard Bartlett, 1825-29; Charles M. Owen, 1847.





Charles M. Owen, William Porter jr., 1828; Riley Loomis, William Porter jr., 1829; Charles M. Owen, 1830; Riley Loomis, Stephen Thatcher, 1831; Stephen Thatcher, 1832; Thomas Hurlburt, Walter Laffin, 1833; Walter Laffin, Josiah Yale, 1834; Nathaniel Tremain jr., Asa G. Welch, Josiah Yale, 1835; Asa G. Welch, Winthrop Laffin, 1836; Winthrop Laffin, William Merrill, 1837; William Merrill, 1838; Eli Bradley, Leonard Church, 1839-40; Samuel A. Hubbard, 1841; Isaac Ball, 1843; Zach Winegar, 1844; Lewis Beach, 1845; George W. Plainer, 1846; Isaac M. Taylor, 1847; Henry Smith, 1848; Eliam Smith, 1849; Harrison Garfield, 1851; James H. Royce, 1852; Caleb B. Phinney, 1853; William P. Hamblin, 1854; Edward S. May, 1855; Charles S. Thatcher, 1856; Caleb Benton, 1857.

*Lenox:* David Rosseter, 1773; John Patterson, 1774; Captain Caleb Hyde, 1775; Major Caleb Hyde, Charles Deblde, 1776; Israel Dewey, Esq., 1780; Elias Willits, 1782; Enos Stone, 1783; William Walker, Esq., 1784; John Patterson, Esq., 1785; Captain Enos Stone, 1786; William Walker, Esq., 1787; Lemuel Collins, 1788; John Stoughton, 1790; William Walker, Esq., 1791; Caleb Hyde, Esq., 1792; Elijah Gates, 1793; William Walker, Esq., 1794-95; Azariah Eggleston, Esq., 1796-99; Joseph Goodwin, 1800-1; Captain Enos Stone, 1802; Elijah Northrop, 1803; Thomas Brown, 1804; Oliver Belden jr., 1805-6; Josiah Newell, 1807; Amasa Gleason, 1808; Oliver Belden, 1809; Oliver Belden jr., Daniel Williams jr., 1810; Daniel Williams jr., 1811; William P. Walker, Daniel Williams jr., 1812; Daniel Williams jr., 1813; William P. Walker, Daniel Williams jr., 1814; Caleb Hyde, 1815; Oliver Belden, Daniel Collins, 1816; Elijah Northrop, 1817; Asher Sedgwick, 1818-19; Charles Matson, 1820-21; Daniel Williams, 1822; Daniel Williams, William P. Walker, 1823; Asher Sedgwick, Levi Belden, 1824; Levi Belden, 1825; Charles Mattoon, 1826; Daniel Williams, Charles Worthington, 1827; Charles Worthington, 1828; Oliver Peck, 1829-30; James W. Robbins, 1831; Lyman Judd, 1832-33; Caleb Belden, 1834-35; George J. Tucker, 1836-37; William A. Phelps, 1838; Henry H. Cook, 1839-40; William A. Phelps, 1841; Major S. Wilson, 1842-44; Isaac Comstock, 1845; Erastus Dewey, 1848; William S. Tucker, 1849; Hiram Pettee, 1850; M. S. Wilson, 1851; Eli Richmond, 1852; William O. Curtis, 1853; Charles Bangs, 1854; William A. Phelps, 1855; Horatio N. Sears, 1856; James H. Collins, 1857.

*Monterey:* John Branning, 1851; Amos Langdon, 1852; Alvin H. Turner, 1853.

*Mount Washington:* This town and Sheffield were represented together from 1782 to 1811, inclusive. See list for Sheffield.

Merritt Smith, 1835-36; William Wright, jr., 1837, 1839; Origen Lamson, 1841; Ira Lamson, 1842; John D. Joyce, 1844; William Wright, 3d, 1852.

*New Ashford:* See list for Lanesboro, with which this town was represented from 1788 to 1814 inclusive.

Phineas Harmon, 1840-41; Norman G. Baxter, 1851; Noble F. Roys, 1852.

*New Marlboro:* Jabez Ward, 1776; Captain Zenas Wheeler, 1777; Jabez Ward, Esq., 1780; Noah Church, 1782-83; Jabez Ward, Esq., 1784; Captain Daniel Taylor, 1785-90; Colonel Daniel Taylor, 1791; Obadiah Ward, Esq., 1792-95; Ebenezer Smith, Esq., 1796-97; Benjamin Wheeler, 1798-1804; Zenas Wheeler, 1806-8; Benjamin Wheeler, Benjamin Smith, 1809; Benjamin Wheeler, Edward Stevens, 1811; Edward Stevens, Elihu Ward, 1812; Ebenezer Hyde, Elihu Ward, 1813-14; Ebenezer Hyde, Isaac Turner, 1815; Elihu Ward, Edward Stevens, 1816; Ebenezer Hyde, Benjamin Wheeler, 1817; Ebenezer Hyde, 1818; Edward Stevens, 1819; Benjamin Wheeler, 1820; Zenas Wheeler, 1821; Benjamin Sheldon, 1822; Salmon Kason,





1823-24; Isaac Turner, 1825-26; Edward Stevens, 1827; Warren Wheeler, 1828; Benjamin Sheldon, 1829; Warren Wheeler, 1830; Benjamin Wheeler, jr., 1831; Newton Kasson, Benjamin Wheeler, jr., 1831; Elias J. Werden, Benjamin Wheeler, jr., 1833; Aretas Rising, Elias J. Werden, 1834; Levi L. Smith, 1836; Samuel Emmons, Levi L. Smith, 1837; Noah Gibson, 1838; Joseph W. Howe, 1839; George Smith, 1840; Linus Carlin, 1841; John P. Wadsworth, 1842; James Hyde, 1843; Zenas Rhoades, 1844; Joseph W. Howe, 1850; Benjamin Smith, 1851; Ammi Warner, 1852; Emmons Arnold, 1853; Edwin Adams, 1856; John P. Wadsworth, 1857.

*Otis:* Roderick Norton, 1812-14; Elihu Buttes, 1815; Seth Root, 1818; Elijah Owen, 1819; Lester Filley, 1821; Elijah Owen, 1822; Samuel Pickett, 1823; Ardon Judd, 1824; Lester Filley, 1826-27; Timothy Jones, 1828-29; Samuel Pickett, 1830-32; Isaac P. Norton, 1833-34; Willis Strickland, 1835; Ardon Judd, 1836; Elam P. Norton, 1837; Samuel Pickett, 1839; Curtis Hunt, 1840; William Carter, 1841; Thomas S. Chaffee, 1842; Lyman J. Strickland, 1843; Calvin Barker, 1844; Enos Smith, 1846; Alanson Temple, 1847; Frederick T. Wallace, 1848; Henry K. Spelman, 1851; Lorenzo Webb, 1852; Lyman J. Strickland, 1854; Lorenzo Webb, 1856.

*Partridgefield:* Nathan Fisk, 1776; Stephen Tracy, 1777; Eben Pinno, 1782-83; Henry Badger, 1786-87; Ebenezer Pierce Esq., 1788-89, 1791-92, 1794; Nathaniel Tracy, 1797; Ebenezer Pierce, 1799; William Frizzle, 1800; William Frissel, 1801-2; Cyrus Stowell, 1803-6.

*Peru:* Smith Phillips, 1803-9; Cyrus Stowell, 1810; Amos Rockwell, 1811; Cyrus Stowell, 1812; John Leland jr., 1813; John Leland, 1814; Cyrus Stowell, 1815; John Leland jr., 1816; Thomas Frissel, 1817, 1819; Henry Emmons, 1820; Henry Pierce, 1825; David Tuttle, 1828-30; Cyrus Stowell, 1831-33; Elisha Rockwell, 1834-35; Cyrus Stowell, 1836-37; Smith Phillips, 1839; Edward T. Nash, 1840; Cyrus Stowell, 1841; Oliver Nash, 1842; Lemuel Frissell, 1844; Augustus C. Frissell, 1850; Zenas Watkins, 1851; Milo Stowell, 1852; Stewart Shumway, 1853.

*Pittsfield:* William Williams, 1762; Charles Goodrich, 1763; William Williams, 1764-65; voted "not to send," 1766-68; Captain Charles Goodrich, 1769-70; William Williams, 1771-72; Captain Charles Goodrich, 1773; James Easton, 1774; Captain Charles Goodrich, Captain Israel Dickinson, 1775; Valentine Rathbun, Israel Dickinson, 1776; Valentine Rathbun, Josiah Wright, Eli Root, 1777; Colonel John Brown, 1778; Colonel William Williams, James Noble, 1779; Captain Charles Goodrich, James Easton, 1780; Colonel William Williams, 1781; Dr. Timothy Childs, 1783-84; Captain Charles Goodrich, 1785; Dr. Timothy Childs, 1786; Henry Van Schaack, Captain David Bush, 1787; Captain David Bush, Woodbridge Little, 1788; Woodbridge Little, 1789-90; Simon Larned, 1791; Daniel Hubbard, Timothy Childs, 1792-93; John C. Williams, 1794-98; Ashbel Strong, 1799; John C. Williams, 1800; Joshua Danforth, 1801-3; Timothy Childs, Thomas Allen jr., 1804; Thomas Allen jr., Simeon Griswold, 1805; Joshua Danforth, Simeon Griswold, 1806; Simeon Griswold, John Churchill, 1807; Joshua Danforth, Captain John Churchill, Joseph Shearer, 1808; Simeon Griswold, John Churchill 2d, Joseph Shearer, 1809; Captain John Churchill, Joseph Shearer, James Brown, Oren Goodrich, 1810; Timothy Childs, James Brown, Oren Goodrich, Hatace Allen, 1811; Timothy Childs, Oren Goodrich, Jonathan Allen, John B. Root, 1812; John B. Root, Caleb Wadhams, John Dickinson, Simeon Brown, 1813; Timothy Childs, Simeon Griswold, John Churchill, Phineas Allen, 1814; Oren Goodrich, John Dickinson, Phineas Allen, Omer Rob-





bins, 1815; Jonathan Allen, Oliver Robbins, Joel Stevens, Henry H. Childs, 1816; Jonathan Allen, 1817; Pincas Allen, 1818; Oren Goodrich, 1819; Jonathan Allen, 1820; Jonathan Allen, William C. Jarvis, 1821; William C. Jarvis, 1822; William C. Jarvis, Daniel B. Bush, Samuel M. McKay, Oren Goodrich, 1823; William C. Jarvis, Samuel M. McKay, 1824; Samuel M. McKay, 1825; Samuel M. McKay, Matthias R. Lanckton, 1826; Matthias R. Lanckton, Thomas B. Strong, Daniel H. Bush, Henry H. Childs, 1827; Thomas R. Strong, Daniel B. Bush, Samuel M. McKay, Daniel H. Francis, 1828; Thomas B. Strong, 1829; Daniel H. Francis, Jonathan Allen, Joseph Merrick, Hosea Merrill jr., 1830; Nathan Willis, Hosea Merrill jr., Jonathan Allen 2d, Jirah Stearns, 1831; Nathan Willis, Thomas B. Strong, Jonathan Allen 2d, Jirah Stearns, 1832; Samuel M. McKay, Thomas Melville, John Churchill, Charles B. Francis, 1833; Samuel M. McKay, Julius Rockwell, Robert Campbell, Charles B. Francis, 1834; Julius Rockwell, Robert Campbell, Matthias R. Lanckton, Jabez Peck, D. Stearns jr., 1835; Julius Rockwell, Nathan R. Lanckton, Jabez Peck, Jason Clapp, Butler Goodrich, 1836; Julius Rockwell, Butler Goodrich, Jason Clapp, Amos Barns, Henry Daniels, 1837; Amos Barns, Henry Hubbard, 1838; George W. Campbell, Solomon L. Russell, 1839; Jabez Peck, James Francis, Comfort B. Platt, 1840; James Francis, Comfort B. Platt, 1841; Abel West, Calvin Martin, 1842, Ensign H. Kellogg, Griffin Chamberlin, 1843; Ensign H. Kellogg, Titus Goodman, 1844; James Buel, Thaddeus Clapp, 1845; Ensign H. Kellogg, John V. Barker, 1847; John V. Barker, Richard C. Cogswell, 1848; Ensign H. Kellogg, Richard C. Cogswell, 1849; Ensign H. Kellogg, Samuel A. Churchill, 1850-51; Ensign H. Kellogg, Robert Francis, 1852; James D. Colt 2d, Charles Daniels, 1853; James D. Colt 2d, Solomon L. Russell, 1854; Charles Churchill, Charles T. Barker, 1855; Henry S. Briggs, John C. West, 1856; George Campbell, Elijah H. Dodge, 1857.

*Richmond*: Captain Elijah Brown, 1775; Captain James Gates, 1777; Comstock Betts, 1779; Nathaniel Bishop, 1782; William Lusk, 1782-84; Nathaniel Bishop, Esq., 1785; William Lusk, 1786-87; Nathaniel Bishop, Esq., 1788-89; William Lusk, Esq., 1790; Nathaniel Bishop, Esq., 1791-95; Dr. Hugo Burghardt, 1796-97; David Rosseter, Esq., 1798-99; Nathan Pierson, 1800; Hugo Burghardt, Esq., 1801; Zachariah Pierson Esq., 1802; Noah Rosseter Esq., 1803; Zachariah Pierson Esq., 1804; Noah Rosseter Esq., 1805; Zachariah Pierson, 1806-7; Hugo Burghardt, 1808; Noah Rosseter, 1809; Absalom Ford, 1810; Ebenezer Houghton, 1811; Hugo Burghardt, 1812; Russell Griffin, 1813; Hugo Burghardt, 1815-17, 1820; Nathan Pierson, 1821-23; William S. Leadbetter, 1824, 1826; Linus Hall, 1827; Erastus Rowley, 1828-29; John Sherrill, 1830-31; Eleazer Williams, 1832-33; John L. Plummer, 1834-35; Lewis C. Sherrill, 1836; Samuel Gates, 1837; George W. Kniffin, 1838; Daniel D. Kendall, 1839; Seneca Pettee, 1840; Samuel Gates, 1841; Henry Werden, 1842; Eli Richmond, 1843; William Pierson, 1844; John Sherrill, 1845; Walter Cook, 1846; Samuel Bartlett (to fill vacancy) 1846; George W. Kniffin, 1850; Samuel Bartlett, 1851; William H. Nichols, 1852; Stephen R. Gay, 1853; Stephen R. Benton, 1854; Henry B. Stephens, 1855.

*Sandisfield*: Dean Samuel Smith, 1775; Thomas Brown, 1777; James Ayrault, 1778; Timothy Brown, 1779; James Ayrault, Elijah Deming, 1782; Daniel Brown, jr., 1784; Josiah Ayrault, 1782; James Ayrault, 1783; Major Samuel Wolcott, 1784; James Ayrault, 1785-7; John Picket jr., 1788-95; John Canfield, 1796-1802; Captain John Picket, 1803-8; John Picket, Jarius Barker, 1809; John Picket, Eliakim Hull, 1810-12; Eliakim Hull, Uriel Smith jr., 1813-14; Uriel Smith jr., Samuel Merrill,





1815; James Adams, 1816; Eliakim Hull, Uriel Smith, jr., 1817; Jonah Wolcott, 1818; Samuel Merrill, 1819; Joseph Sears, 1820; George Hull, 1821; Jonah Wolcott, Joseph Sears, 1822; James Bosworth, 1823-25; George Hull, 1826; Uriel Smith, 1827; Samuel Merrill, Thomas Twining, 1828-29; Joseph Fuller, Daniel Sears, 1830; James Bosworth, 1831; Uriel Smith, Josiah H. Sage, 1832; John H. Allen, Calvin Burt, 1833-34; Henry Abbey, James Smith, 1835; Erasmus Bosch, James Smith, 1836; Stephen Smith, Alfred C. Twining, 1837; Oliver Bosworth, 1839; David Belden, 1840; Silas Sage, 1841; Friend H. Burt, 1842; Henry Abbey, 1843; William H. Parsons, 1846; Lemuel K. Strickland, 1849-50; Francis Baxter, 1851; Chester Chaffin, 1852; Alial A. Fuller, 1853; Abner S. Welner, 1854; Hiram G. Halbert, 1855; Leonard K. Strickland, 1856; Sylvester Jones, 1857.

*Sage:* Joseph Williams, 1806-7; Snellem Babbitt, 1808; Joseph Williams, 1809; Liscom Phillips, 1810-12; William Ingraham, 1823-24; Edward Babbitt, 1828-29; William Ingraham, 1830-31, 1833; Snellem Babbitt, 1834-35; Charles Dunham, 1836-37; Melvin Bowker, 1838-39; Philip Pierce, 1840-41; John B. Cadworth, 1842-43; Bradish Dunham, 1845-46; Robert Stuttervant, 1850-52; David Ingraham, 1853-54; Harmon Snow, 1855.

*Sheffield:* With Sheffield were represented the towns of Alford from 1773 to 1775, Egremont from 1761 to 1775, Great Barrington from 1763 to 1775, and Mount Washington from 1782 to 1811, inclusive in each case.

David Ingersoll, 1741; Captain John Ashley, 1750; David Ingersoll Esq., 1751; Captain John Ashley, 1752-53; David Ingersoll Esq., 1754; Daniel Kellogg, 1755; Captain Ithamar Hubbell, 1756, 1760; John Ashley Esq., 1761; Joseph Dwight Esq., John Ashley Esq., 1763; John Ashley Esq., 1764; Ebenezer Smith, 1766; Ephraim Fitch, 1767; John Ashley Esq., 1768-69; David Ingersoll jr., 1770-71; David Ingersoll Esq., Mark Hopkins Esq., 1773; David Ingersoll Esq., John Fellows Esq., Doctor William Whiting, 1774; William Whiting, 1775; Atariah Root, 1776; Colonel John Ashley, Lemuel Baernd, Esq., Captain William Bacon, 1777; Silas Kellogg, 1778; Colonel John Ashley, Daniel Raymond, 1779; Deacon Silas Kellogg, John Ashley jr., Esq., 1780; Colonel John Ashley jr., 1781; The Sedgwick, J. Fellows Esq., 1782-83; John Ashley jr., Esq., 1784-85; John Ashley jr., Esq., John Fellows Esq., 1786; John Ashley jr., Esq., 1787-88; John Hubbard, 1789-93; John Ashley jr., Esq., 1794; John Hubbard, 1795; William Bacon Esq., 1796; John Ashley jr., Esq., 1797-99; Paul Dewey, 1800; Moses Hubbard, 1801-2; John W. Hulbert, 1804-5; Silas Kellogg, 1806; John Hubbard, Samuel Shears, 1807; Silas Kellogg, 1809-11; Eli Ensign, Elisha Lee, 1812; Joseph Goodrich, Atariah Root, 1813; William Buel, Ephraim Kellogg, 1814; Silas Kellogg, Silas Dewey, 1815; William Ashley, Miner Owen, 1816; Silas Kellogg, 1817; Jared Canfield, 1818-19; Joseph Wilcox, 1820; Robert F. Barnard, 1821; Eli Ensign, 1822; Moses Stocking, 1823; Norman Hickok, 1824-25; Abijah Curtis, 1826; Edward F. Ensign, Jeremiah Shears, 1827; Parker L. Hall, 1828; Edward F. Ensign, Parker L. Hall, 1829; Royse Leonard, Amos Shears, 1830; Elisha Kellogg, 1831; Horatio L. Warner, 1832; Ephraim Kellogg, Oliver Peck, 1833; Elijah S. Deming, Derrick Spur, 1834; Darius Mason, Levi Koye, 1835; Moses Forbes, Joset Taft jr., 1836; Amos Shears, Butler Ives, 1837; Ira Curtiss, Silas Smith, 1838; Frederick A. Brown, Ira Curtiss, 1839; Orrin Curtiss, Moses Forbes, 1840; Horatio L. Warner, 1841; Gershum M. Fitch, 1842; Heman McIntyre, 1843-44; Leonard Tuttle, 1845; Jedediah Hazell, 1846; Richard Ensign, 1847; Billings Palmer, 1848; Jonathan Trescott, 1849; Rodney





Sage, 1851; Charles Spurr, 1852; William Warner, 1854; Graham A. Root, 1855; Joseph Wilcox, 1856; Gershom M. Fitch, 1857.

*Stockbridge:* Ephraim Williams, Esq., 1744; Timothy Woodbridge, 1722; Elijah Williams, 1761; Timothy Woodbridge, Esq., 1762, 1763, 1769-71; Samuel Browne, 1772; Samuel Browne, jr., 1773; Thomas Williams, 1774; Timothy Edwards, Esq., Jahlcel Woodbridge, Esq., 1775; Elnathan Cortis, 1776; Timothy Edwards, Esq., John Bacon, 1777; John Bacon, 1778; Asa Bennett, 1779; John Bacon, Esq., Jahlcel Woodbridge, 1780; John Bacon, Esq., 1782; Hon. John Bacon, Esq., 1783-84; Dr. Erastus Sargeant, 1785; Hon. John Bacon, Esq., 1769; Hon. Theodore Sedgwick, Esq., 1787-88; Hon. John Bacon, Esq., 1789-91; Hon. Timothy Edwards, Esq., 1792; John Bacon, Esq., 1793; Ephraim Williams, 1794-96; John Bacon, Esq., 1797; Ephraim Williams, Esq., 1798-1801; Colonel Jonathan Patten, 1802-3; Asa Williams, 1804; John Whitou, 1805; Asa Bennett, 1806; John Bacon, 1827; Elijah Brown, jr., 1808; Henry Brown, 1809; Asa Williams, 1810; Samuel Olmstead, 1811; John Winton, Isaac Curtis, 1812; John Hunt, 1813; Daniel Goodrich, 1814-15; John Bacon, 1816; Jared Curtis, 1817; Henry W. Dwight, 1818; Jared Curtis, 1819-20; Isaac Curtis, jr., 1821; George Whitney, 1822; Isaac Curtis, jr., 1823; Theodore Sedgwick, 1824-25; Samuel Jones, 1826; Theodore Sedgwick, 1827-28; Richard P. Morgan, Theodore Sedgwick, 1829; Prentice Williams, 1830; Sewell Sergeant, 1831; Isaac Curtis, Thaddeus Pomeroy, 1832; Amos Avery, jr., 1833; Daniel Churchill, Henry W. Dwight, 1834; Daniel Churchill, Theodore S. Pomeroy, 1835; Alanson Bennet, Avery Williams, 1836; Alanson Bennet, John M. Cooper, 1837; William C. Churchill, 1838; William C. Churchill, Charles Webster, 1839; John M. Cooper, Charles Webster, 1840; William Rosseter, 1841; Daniel Barnes, 1842; Marshall Warner, 1843; Robert E. Galpin, 1844-45; Horatio Byington, 1846; Daniel B. Fenn, 1848; Albert F. Dickinson, 1849; William Darbe, 1850; Edward C. Carter, 1851; Henry L. Carter, 1853; Henry W. Dwight, 1854; Frederick W. Carter, 1855; Thomas Wells, 1856; Henry Dresser, 1857.

*Tyringham:* Captain John Chadwick, 1762-64, 1766-67, 1772-73; Captain Giles Jackson, 1774; Major Giles Jackson, Elijah Warren, John Chadwick, Esq., 1775; John Chadwick, Esq., Joseph Wilson, 1777; Colonel Giles Jackson, Captain Ezekiel Herrick, 1779; Lieutenant Joseph Wilson, 1780; Captain Josiah Brewer, 1781-2; Captain Ezekiel Herrick, 1783; Captain Josiah Brewer, 1784; Giles Jackson, Esq., 1785; Benjamin Warren, 1787; Captain Ezekiel Herrick, 1788-91; Giles Jackson, Esq., 1794; Adonijah Bidwell, 1795; Giles Jackson, Esq., 1796; Elisha Garfield, Esq., 1797, 1799; Adonijah Bidwell, 1800-5; Joseph Wilson, 1806-8; Adonijah Bidwell, Joseph Wilson, 1809; Adonijah Bidwell Francis Herrick, 1810-11; Joseph Wilson, Jared Thompson, 1812; Solomon Garfield, 1813; Nehemiah Park, 1814-15; Jared Thompson, 1816; Nehemiah Park, 1817; Adonijah Bidwell, 1820; Silas Rewee, 1822-24; Lawson D. Bidwell, 1825-26; Silas Renwee, 1827; Eli Hale, 1828-29; Egbert B. Garfield, 1830-31; Samuel Fargo, jr., 1832; Ezer Heath, 2nd, 1833; Samuel C. Buel, 1834-35; Oliver Judd, jr., 1836-37; Ezra Heath, 1838; Asa Judd, 1839; Amos Langdon, jr., 1840; Horatio H. Hubbard, 1841; John Branning, 1842; John D. Sweet, 1843; John Branning, 1844; Asa Judd, 1845; John Branning, 1847-48; Nathan Rowley, 1849; John Branning, 1850; Ezer Heath, 1851; Ebenezer Beers, 1852; Elbridge B. Tyrrell, 1853; John Canon, 1854.

*Washington:* Ahimes Easton, 1788; John Nichols, 1782-84, 1785; Aramon Ashley Esq., 1787, 1789-90; Anthony Ames 1801; Gideon Daming, 1808-9; Jesse Ladd





jr., 1810; Simon Henry, 1812; Asalom Daming, 1813; Giles Deming, 1814; J. H. Morgan, 1820-21; Abraham Williams, 1823; Philip Eames, 1827-28; Stephen W. Newton, 1829-30; William Noble, 1831; Stephen W. Newton, 1832; Philip Eames, 1833; Stephen W. Newton, 1834; Philip Eames, 1835-36; Stephen W. Newton, 1837; John S. Noble, 1838-40; William G. Ballantyne, 1841; Amos S. Crane, 1842; Elisha A. Wells, 1843; Alvah Eames, 1844; William Maher, 1847; John G. Crook, 1849; Samuel Bell, 1851; William F. Bell, 1852; Amos W. Lloyd, 1853; Alanson Jolly, 1854.

*West Stockbridge*: Elijah Williams Esq., 1782, 1784-5, 1786; Major Thomas Lusk, 1788-89; Elijah Williams Esq., 1790-91; Thomas Lusk Esq., 1791-92, 1793; Elijah Williams, 1797; Samuel Baldwin, 1798; Elijah Williams, 1799; Ezekiel Stone, 1800; Grove Pomeroy, 1801-2; Enoch W. Thayer, 1803; Abraham Tobey, 1804; Philander Rathbun, 1805; Dr. Samuel Harston, 1806-7; Faring Wilton, 1808; Lemuel Moffit jr., 1809-10; Deodatus C. Whitwood, 1811; Lemuel Moffit jr., 1812-13; Stephen Sibley, 1814; Joseph Hewins, 1815; Stephen Johns, 1816; Sanford Fitch, 1818; Joseph B. Hill, 1820-21; Luther Plumb, 1823, 1825; Robbins Kellogg, 1826; Melancthon Lewis, 1827; Luther Plumb, 1828; Martin Hendrix, 1829-30; Melancthon Lewis, 1831; Martin Hendrix, 1832-33; Martin Hendrix, Charles H. Boyington, 1836; Miles Morgan, Martin Hendrix, 1837; Hubbard Fox, 1838-39; Henry M. Tobey, 1841; Sylvester Spencer, 1842-43; Perley Truendell, 1844; Mattos R. Kellogg, 1845; Nathan Kinne, 1846; Henry W. Taft, 1847; Thomas W. Barnes, 1848; Cyrus W. Woodruff, 1849; Andrew Poarey, 1851; William Jones, 1852; Cyrus W. Woodruff, 1853; Thomas H. Spencer, 1854; Morgan L. Boughton, 1855; Heman Ford, 1856; Franklin B. Crook, 1857.

*Williamstown*: Captain Isaac Searl, 1770-72; David Noble, 1773; Captain Isaac Searl, 1774; Samuel Kellogg, 1775; Captain Isaac Stratton, 1776; Captain Isaac Searles, 1777; Captain Stephen Davis, Elisha Baker, 1779; Captain Stephen Davis, Major Isaac Stratton, 1780; Captain Thompson J. Skinner, 1781-83; Captain Joseph T. Skinner, 1784; Thomas J. Skinner, 1785-89; Dr. William Towner, 1790-91; Major William Young, 1792-93; Colonel Samuel Stone, 1794; William Young, Esq., 1795; William Towner Esq., 1796-98; Thompson J. Skinner Esq., 1799; Thompson J. Skinner, William Young, 1800; William Young, William Towner, 1801; William Young, 1802-4; William Young, Ezekiel Bacon, 1805-6; William Towner, 1807; William Towner, William Young, 1808; William Towner, Samuel Kellogg, 1809; Samuel Kellogg, Henry C. Brown, 1810-11; Ambrose Hall, Samuel Kellogg, 1812-13; Samuel Kellogg, Alanson Porter, 1814; Samuel Kellogg, 1815; Samuel Kellogg, Rufus Young, 1816; Ambrose Hall, 1817; Daniel Noble, Samuel Kellogg, 1819; Daniel Noble, 1820; Keyes Danforth, 1821; Charles A. Dewey, 1822; Keyes Danforth, 1823; Charles A. Dewey, Gershom T. Bulkley, 1824; Stephen Horsford, 1825-26; Keyes Danforth, Lyman Habbell, 1827; Lyman Habbell, Samuel Smith, 1828; Daniel N. Dewey, Ebenezer Foster, 1830-31; Ebenezer Emmons, Reuben Young, 1832-33; Henry L. Sabin, 1834; Manning Brown, Reuben Eldridge, 1835-36; Thomas C. Phelps, William Waterman, 1837-38; Jeremiah H. Horsford, Henry Johnson, 1839; James Corbin, Henry Johnson, 1840; James Eldridge, 1841; Dennis Smith, 1842; William Torrey, 1843; Amasa Stratton, 1844; Isaac Latham, 1846-47; Daniel M. Dewey, 1848; Sumner Southworth, 1849; William White, 1851; William Danforth, 1852; Harvey T. Cole, 1853; Parley J. Prindle, 1854; Edwin F. Gray, 1855; Richard W. Swan, 1856; Levi Smedley, 1857.

*London*: Joshua Lawton, 1787; Paul Larcom, 1810.





*Gageboro, now Windsor:* Captain William Clark, 1774; Harmon Briggs, 1777; Captain Arnold Lewis, Captain William Clark, 1780; Captain Denison Robinson, 1781; William Clark Esq., 1782; Captain L. Grosvenor, 1783-85; William Clark, Esq., 1786; Harmon Briggs Esq., 1787; Captain Denison Robinson, 1788; William Clark Esq., 1789; Thomas Robinson jr., 1790; Joshua Beals Esq., 1792-93, 1795, 1797, 1800, 1802; Amos Holbrook, 1803-5; Daniel Chapman, 1806; Amos Holbrook, 1807; Daniel Dana, 1809-10; Nathaniel Luther, 1811; Noah Green, 1812-14; Amasa Convers jr., 1815; Ephraim Baldwin, 1819; Noah Green, 1821; John Fobes, 1823-24; Ephraim Baldwin, 1826; Ala Hall, 1827; Jephtha Whitman, 1828-29; Josiah Allen, 1830-31; Daniel O. Holbrook, 1832-33; Josiah Allen, 1834; Richard Hume, 1835; John Weston, 1836; Alpheus Brown jr., 1837; Josiah Allen, 1839; Moses Ford, 1840; Samuel Dawes jr., 1841; Levi M. Winslow, 1842; Clark Prince, 1843; Henry A. Pierce, 1847-48; Chapin Converse, 1850; Reuben Pierce, 1851; Luther Tower, 1852; Almond P. Pierce, 1854; James L. White, 1855.

In 1857 the county was divided into nine representative districts, as follows:

First District:—Hancock, Lanesboro, New Ashford, Williamstown.

Second:—Adams, Cheshire, Clarksburg, Florida, Savoy.

Third:—Pittsfield, Dalton, Richmond.

Fourth:—Becket, Hinsdale, Peru, Washington, Windsor.

Fifth:—Lenox, Stockbridge, West Stockbridge.

Sixth:—Lee, Tyringham.

Seventh:—Great Barrington, Alford, Monterey.

Eighth:—New Marlboro, Sandisfield, Otis.

Ninth:—Sheffield, Mount Washington, Egremont.

The representatives from these districts have been as follows:

In 1858,—1st District,—Calvin R. Taft, Williamstown; 2d,—Russell C. Brown, Cheshire; Sylvander Johnson, Adams; 3d,—Julius Rockwell, Edward Larned, Pittsfield; 4th,—John Smith, Becket; 5th, George W. Kniffin, West Stockbridge; 6th,—Jonathan T. Cook, Lee; 7th,—William Dewey, Great Barrington; 8th,—James Hyde, New Marlboro; 9th,—Chester Goudale, Egremont.

In 1859,—1st District,—William Filley, Lanesboro; 2d, William H. Tyler, 2d, Sylvander Johnson, Adams; 3d, John A. Walker, Henry Colt, Pittsfield; 4th, Henry D. Lyman, Hinsdale; 5th, E. W. B. Canning, Stockbridge; 6th, John M. Northrop, Tyringham; 7th, Increase Sumner, Great Barrington; 8th, Orin Bart, Sandisfield; 9th, Calvin Benjamin, Egremont.

In 1860,—1st District,—William E. Johnson, Williamstown; 2d, Timothy Baker, Savoy; George W. Nottingham, Adams; 3d, Robert W. Adams, William R. Plunkett, Pittsfield; 4th, Andrew J. Babbitt, Windsor; 5th, Henry W. Bishop, Lenox; 6th, John Stallman jr., Lee; 7th, William Stoddard, Alford; 8th, Henry W. Howarth, Otis; 9th, John Scovill, Sheffield.

In 1861,—1st District,—George W. Barker, Hancock; 2d, Steel E. Dean, Adams; Joseph D. Clark, Clarksburg; 3d, Otis R. Barker, Pittsfield; Simeon M. Dean, Dalton; 4th, Simpson Bell, Washington; 5th, Charles S. Platt, West Stockbridge; 6th, John Branning, Lee; 7th, Benjamin Peabody, Great Barrington; 8th, Cyrus L. Hartwell, New Marlboro; 9th, Henry H. Hoadley, Sheffield.

In 1862,—1st District,—Keyes Danforth, Williamstown; 2d, Henry Cartwright, Adams; Edmund D. Foster, Cheshire; 3d, Nathan G. Brown, Pittsfield; W. H. Nichols, Richmond; 4th, Sylvester S. Bowen, Peru; 5th, Jonathan E. Field, Stock-





bridge; 6th, James Bullard, Lee; 7th, Eugene Vosburg, Great Barrington; 8th, Joshua M. Sears, Sandisfield; 9th, Seymour B. Dewey, Egremont.

In 1863,—1st District,—Daniel Day, Lanesboro; 2d, George W. Adams, Adams; Sylvester A. Kemp, Florida; 3d, Burr Chamberlin, Dalton; John V. Barker, Pittsfield; 4th, Jarvis Rockwell, Hinsdale; 5th, Thomas Post, Lenox; 6th, William G. Merrill, Lee; 7th, Justin Dewey Jr., Great Barrington; 8th, Isaac L. Bristol, Otis; 9th, Archibald Taft, Sheffield.

In 1864,—1st District,—Daniel Dewey, Williamstown; 2d, Sylvester Johnson, Abel Wetherbee, Adams; 3d, Henry Stearns, Pittsfield; Selden Jennings, Richmond; 4th, Milton Barnes, Becket; 5th, Charles W. Kniffin, West Stockbridge; 6th, John M. Garfield, Tyringham; 7th, Rensselaer N. Couch, Monterey; 8th, Grove Gaylord, New Marlboro; 9th, Horace W. Lamson, Mount Washington.

In 1865,—1st District,—Daniel Dewey, Williamstown; 2d, Benjamin F. Phillips, John F. Arnold, Adams; 3d, George N. Dutton, Pittsfield; Charles O. Brown, Dalton; 4th, A. W. Warren, Windsor; 5th, Henry M. Burall, Stockbridge; 6th, Sylvester S. May, Lee; 7th, Joseph Tucker, Great Barrington; 8th, Franklin G. Ahlry, Sandisfield; 9th, Joseph A. Benjamin, Egremont.

In 1866,—1st District,—Noble F. Roys, New Ashford; 2d, Sylvander Johnson, George Millard, Adams; 3d, John C. West, Samuel W. Bowerman, Pittsfield; 4th, Moses H. Longley, Washington; 5th, Thomas Post, Lenox; 6th, Marshall Wilcox, Lee; 7th, Mark R. Van Dusen, Alford; 8th, Alanson Crittenden, Otis; 9th, Ralph Little, Sheffield.

In 1866 the county was redistricted, and the number of districts was reduced to eight, the first five being constituted as before.

The sixth was made to include Lee, Monterey, Otis, and Tyringham.

The seventh, Alford, Egremont, Great Barrington, and Mount Washington.

The eighth, New Marlboro, Sandisfield, and Sheffield. Under this distribution the representatives were as follows:

In 1867,—1st District,—William H. Lapham, Hancock; 2d, Jonas A. Champley, Shepard Thayer, Adams; 3d, John V. Barker, John E. Merrill, Pittsfield; 4th, Benjamin F. Pierce, Peru; 5th, William C. Spaulding, West Stockbridge; 6th, John Branning, Lee; 7th, Egbert Hollister, Great Barrington; 8th, Zacheus Cande, Sheffield.

In 1868,—1st District,—Fred. A. Morey, Williamstown; 2d, Shepard Thayer, Adams; Jonas A. Champley, Cheshire; 3d, Thomas F. Plunkett, Pittsfield; Henry H. Cook, Richmond; 4th, Charles J. Kittredge, Hinsdale; 5th, Mason Van Deusen, Stockbridge; 6th, Alanson Crittenden, Otis; 7th, Edward A. Hulbert, Great Barrington; 8th, Andrew Freeman, New Marlboro.

In 1869,—1st District,—Josus Tower, Lanesboro; 2d, Shepard Thayer, Adams; Werden R. Brown, Cheshire; 3d, Thomas F. Plunkett, Pittsfield; James Wilson, Dalton; 4th, Thomas K. Plunkett, Hinsdale; 5th, Albert Langdon, Lenox; 6th, Alanson Crittenden, Otis; 7th, Herbert C. Joyner, Great Barrington; 8th, Orlow Wolcott, Sandisfield.

In 1870,—1st District,—Benjamin F. Mills, Williamstown; 2d, William F. Dittie, Henry J. Barker, Adams; 3d, Ensign H. Kellogg, Samuel A. Churchill, Pittsfield; 4th, George T. Plunkett, Hinsdale; 5th, Edward McDonald, Lenox; 6th, Alanson Crittenden, Otis; 7th, Herbert C. Joyner, Great Barrington; 8th, John D. Barton, Sheffield.



In 1871,—1st District,—Calvin R. Taft, Williamstown; 2d, Henry J. Barker, Frederick P. Brown, Adams; 3d, Ensign H. Kellogg, Pittsfield; Zenas Crane Jr., Dalton; 4th, Henry A. Bidwell, Becket; 5th, Henry J. Dunham, Stockbridge; 6th, Prentiss C. Baird, Lee; 7th, Irwin D. W. Baldwin, Egremont; 8th, H. D. Susan, New Marlboro.

In 1872,—1st District,—Edward J. Tower, Lanesboro; 2d, Frederick P. Brown, Adams; S. P. Dresser, Savoy; 3d, James M. Barker, William H. Murray, Pittsfield; 4th, Chapin Converse, Hinsdale; 5th, George O. Peck, Lenox; 6th, Charles E. Slater, Tyringham; 7th, Frederick T. Whiting, Great Barrington; 8th, Milton Abbey, Sandisfield.

In 1873,—1st District,—Kirke E. Gardner, Hancock; 2d, William C. Plunkett, William F. Darby, Adams; 3d, James M. Barker, George Y. Learned, Pittsfield; 4th, James L. White, Windsor; 5th, Marcus Truesdell, West Stockbridge; 6th, Thomas M. Judd, Lee; 7th, Seymour B. Dewey, Egremont; 8th, Austin Hawley, Sandisfield.

In 1874,—1st District,—Sumner Southworth, Williamstown; 2d, S. W. Brayton, Adams; L. J. Cole, Cheshire; 3d, Jarvis N. Dunham, William H. Murray, Pittsfield; 4th, Simon H. White, Hinsdale; 5th, John B. Hull, Stockbridge; 6th, Thomas M. Judd, Lee; 7th, Henry W. Wright, Great Barrington; 8th, William B. Gibson, New Marlboro.

In 1875,—1st District,—Joseph White, Williamstown; 2d, James W. Dwyer, William Martin, Adams; 3d, Thomas F. Plunkett, Owen Coogan, Pittsfield; 4th, Alanson B. Pomeroy, Washington; 5th, William D. Curtis, Lenox; 6th, Edward S. May, Lee; 7th, John M. Seeley, Great Barrington; 8th, Henry M. Wilcox, Sandisfield.

In 1876,—1st District,—Harvey M. Owen, Lanesboro; 2d, Charles H. Reed, Dallas J. Dean, Adams; 3d, Ensign H. Kellogg, Solomon N. Russell, Pittsfield; 4th, Monroe E. Ballou, Becket; 5th, John A. Wilson, West Stockbridge; 6th, John P. Clark, Lee; 7th, William I. Van Deusen, Great Barrington; 8th, Albert W. Curtis, Sheffield.

In 1876 another apportionment, based on the census of 1875, was made, and the districts were constituted as follows :

First District.—Hancock, Lanesboro, New Ashford, Williamstown, Clarksburg.  
Second:—Adams.

Third:—Pittsfield, Dalton.

Fourth:—Florida, Savoy, Cheshire, Windsor, Washington, Peru, Hinsdale.

Fifth:—Becket, Lee, Otis, Tyringham.

Sixth:—Richmond, Lenox, Stockbridge, West Stockbridge.

Seventh:—Alford, Egremont, Great Barrington, Monterey.

Eighth:—Mount Washington, New Marlboro, Sandisfield, Sheffield.

Under this apportionment the representatives have been as follows:

In 1877,—1st District,—John L. Cole, Williamstown; 2d, Job K. Anthony, Charles H. Ingalls, Adams; 3d, Jarvis N. Dunham, Pittsfield; Henry A. Baxon, Dalton; 4th, Jackson B. Farnum, Cheshire; 5th, Frank S. Gross, Lee; 6th, Horace J. Canfield, Stockbridge; 7th, Justin Dewey, Great Barrington; 8th, Andrew J. Freeman, New Marlboro.

In 1878,—1st District,—Daniel N. White, Hancock; 2d, Job K. Anthony, Charles H. Ingalls, Adams; 3d, Jarvis N. Dunham, Solomon N. Russell, Pittsfield; 4th, John W. Curtice, Hinsdale; 5th, Sidney Barnes, Becket; 6th, Hiram N. Cooke,





Lenox; 7th, William B. Bliss, Great Barrington; 8th, Henry M. Wilcox, Sandisfield.

In 1879,—1st District,—Benjamin F. Mather jr., Williamstown; 2d, Horace M. Holmes, Adams; William E. Darby, North Adams;\* 3d, Francis W. Rockwell, Solomon N. Russell, Pittsfield; 4th, Leonard McCulloch, Savoy; 5th, Elihu Smith, Lee; 6th, Samuel M. Reynolds, Richmond; 7th, Walter B. Peck, Egremont; 8th, Maloy J. Smith, Sheffield.

In 1880,—1st District,—Keyes Danforth, Williamstown; 2d, Horace M. Holmes, Adams; S. Proctor Thayer, North Adams; 3d, Samuel W. Bowerman, Edward D. G. Jones, Pittsfield; 4th, William C. Warren, Windsor; 5th, William Tinker, Otis; 6th, James Shead, West Stockbridge; 7th, Walter B. Peck, Egremont; 8th, Lorin P. Keyes, New Marlboro.

In 1881,—1st District,—John W. P. Buck, Clarkburg; 2d, Nelson H. Bixby, Adams; S. Proctor Thayer, North Adams; 3d, Samuel W. Bowerman, Oliver W. Robbins, Pittsfield; 4th, Frederick S. Rice, Florida; 5th, Norman W. Shores, Lee; 6th, Henry J. Dunham, Stockbridge; 7th, Marshall S. Bidwell, Monterey; 8th, George A. Shepard, Sandisfield.

In 1882,—1st District,—Charles D. Belden, Williamstown; 2d, Abner W. Preston, Nathan S. Babbitt, North Adams; 3d, Samuel W. Bowerman, Edward D. G. Jones, Pittsfield; 4th, Alanson S. Pomeroy, Washington; 5th, Norman W. Shores, Lee; 6th, Thomas Post, Lenox; 7th, Charles W. Ray, Great Barrington; 8th, Orin C. Whitbeck, Mount Washington.

In 1883,—1st District,—Charles D. Belden, Williamstown; 2d, Nelson H. Bixby, Adams; Henry G. B. Fisher, North Adams; 3d, Jacob Gimlich, Pittsfield; John S. Barton, Dalton; 4th, Heman L. Allen, Windsor; 5th, Pliny M. Saylor, Lee; 6th, George E. Kniffin, West Stockbridge; 7th, Herbert C. Joyner, Great Barrington; 8th, George Kellogg, Sheffield.

In 1884,—1st District,—Fordyce W. Briggs, Lanesboro; 2d, Moses B. Darling, North Adams; John S. Adams, Adams; 3d, Thomas A. Oman, Jacob Gimlich, Pittsfield; 4th, Daniel F. Bucklin, Cheshire; 5th, William H. Gross, Lee; 6th, Henry J. Dunham, Stockbridge; 7th, Albert S. Fasset, Great Barrington; 8th, Lorin P. Keyes, New Marlboro.

In 1885,—1st District,—Bushnell Danforth, Williamstown; 2d, Moses B. Darling, North Adams; John S. Adams, Adams; 3d, De Witt C. Munyan, John Allen Root, Pittsfield; 4th, Edwin Tremain, Hinsdale; 5th, Henry C. Phelps, Lee; 6th, Chauncey Sears, Lenox; 7th, Alfred S. Fasset, Great Barrington; 8th, Charles A. Clafin, Sandisfield.

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\*Town of Adams divided and North Adams incorporated, April 10th, 1878.



## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE BERKSHIRE BENCH AND BAR.\*

BY A. C. COLLINS, A.M.

The Courts.—County seats.—Law library.—Judges.—The Bar.

#### THE COURTS.

THE judicial system of Massachusetts has been of gradual growth and development. Under the colonial government county courts were organized which were adapted to the simple needs of the inhabitants; these courts were held by the magistrates in the respective counties, and by "such persons of worth where there shall need be, as shall from time to time be appointed by the General Court (at the nomination of the freemen of the county) to be joined in commission with the magistrates so that they may be five in all, three whereof may keep a court provided there be one magistrate."

These courts had general Probate jurisdiction and "full power to hear and determine all causes, civil and criminal, not extending to life member or banishment" (which, with causes of divorce, were reserved to the Court of Assistants) and power to appoint clerks and other officers, to summon juries, and to "admit any church members, that are fit to be freemen." There was a right of appeal from the inferior courts to the Court of Assistants, which was held at least semi-annually by the governor or deputy governor and the rest of the magistrates.

In cases of capital offense, if the defendant was convicted by a bare majority of the judges then present, he could appeal to the next General Court, and it was also provided that in any "difficult case" the question at issue might, without the names of the parties being given, be referred to the General Court for decision.

A special court for strangers might be held by the governor and two

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\* In compiling the following sketch of the Bench and Bar the writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to "Field's History of Berkshire County" and to the several town histories that have been published, from which valuable aid has been derived.





magistrates. Small causes were tried by a single magistrate or by three commissioners in towns where there were no magistrates.

After the organization of the "Province of Massachusetts Bay" by charter of William and Mary (1691) the following judicial system was adopted by the "Great and General Court or Assembly of their majesties begun at Boston the eighth day of June, 1692:"

I.—A Superior Court of Judicature having both appellate and original jurisdiction throughout the province,—corresponding to our Supreme Judicial Court—and consisting of a chief justice and four associate justices, three of whom constituted a quorum; its terms were held in the several counties but no sessions were ever held in Berkshire as all its causes arising in this county were heard and tried at the terms held in Hampshire. The same justices were to hold a court of assize and general gaol delivery for the county at the same time.

II.—A Court of Common Pleas for each county, consisting of four justices residing therein, and having a general jurisdiction in civil causes.

III.—A Court of Quarter Sessions in each county, composed of all its justices of the peace, who had a limited criminal jurisdiction and managed the prudential affairs of the county. The justices of the peace had also a separate jurisdiction in minor matters, both civil and criminal, and from their judgments there was a right of appeal to the next Court of Common Pleas.

IV.—A High Court of Chancery "to be holden and kept by the governor or such other as he shall appoint to be chancellor, assisted with eight or more of the council" to sit at such times as the governor should appoint, with right of appeal, when the matter in controversy exceeded £300 sterling, "unto their majesties in council."

V.—Probate Courts. The provincial charter provided that the governor with the council or assistants should "do, execute, or perform all that is necessary for the probate of wills and granting of administrations." An act was passed by the Legislature for erecting Courts of Probate in the several counties, which was negatived by the king; other acts, however, were afterward passed and approved which recognized the power of these Courts of Probate and regulated appeals from them to the governor and council; the governor appointed probate officers in the several counties, to whom, in effect, he delegated the probate power vested in himself.

Without endeavoring to further trace the history of our courts it may be sufficient to state that the system of county courts was continued, with some changes under the constitution, until the adoption of the present system in 1820, when a Court of Common Pleas for the commonwealth was established, corresponding to the present Superior Court and holding its sessions in the several counties. Courts of Insolvency were also established, having the same judges and holding their sessions at the same time and place as the Probate Courts.





## COUNTY SEATS.

Berkshire county was incorporated April 24th, 1761—the act to take effect on the 30th of June following. By the same statute Sheffield was declared to be “for the present the county or shire town,” and the county offices were located at the North Parish which, being incorporated as the town of Great Barrington in June of the same year, became the shire town and the courts were appointed to be held at the latter place on the last Tuesday of April and first Tuesday of September, and at Ploomisuck, or Pittsfield, on the first Tuesday of March and December of each year.

Previous to the organization of this county Joseph Dwight, of Great Barrington, and Ephraim Williams (father of the founder of Williams College), of Stockbridge, were judges of the Court of Common Pleas for the original county of Hampshire, and William Williams, of Pittsfield, Timothy Woodbridge, of Stockbridge, John Ashley, of Sheffield, Jabez Ward, of New Marlborough, and David Ingersoll, of Great Barrington, were justices of the peace for the same county. As the courts were held in Springfield it was a matter of no inconsiderable trouble and expense for parties in the western portion of the county to attend their sessions.

The judges of the Court of Common Pleas first appointed for the county were Joseph Dwight, of Great Barrington, presiding judge, and William Williams, of Pittsfield, John Ashley, of Sheffield, and Timothy Woodbridge, of Stockbridge, associate judges. Their first meeting was held at the house of Timothy Woodbridge, of Stockbridge, July 18th, 1761, when they appointed Elijah Dwight, son of the presiding judge, to be clerk of the courts, and Mark Hopkins registrar of deeds. They held the first session of court at Great Barrington, in the old meeting house which stood on the east side of the Housatonic River, near the Great Bridge, the use of the house for that purpose having been granted to them by a special vote of the town. The courts in Pittsfield were held in a large room set apart for that purpose in Fort Anson, which had been built a few years before by Colonel William Williams, but was dismantled and soon afterward became the residence of Lieutenant Groves.

In March, 1764, the Court of Sessions took steps toward the building of a court house at Great Barrington, which was probably first occupied at the April Term in 1765, although not fully completed until several years later. The total cost of it was something over \$150. It was a plain, unpainted wooden building, about thirty by forty feet, and one and a half stories high; it was located near the middle of Main street and opposite what is now Castle street, which was then but little more than a lane; it fronted east and stood so far into Main street that wagons could pass on either side of it to Castle street in its rear.

At about the same time a wooden jail was erected a few rods southwest of the court house, near where the Episcopal church now stands.

In 1761 Great Barrington was near the center of population of the county, but as the northern portions of the county became more thickly





settled the public convenience required that the county-seat should be moved further to the north.

One term of the court in Pittsfield was changed to the last Tuesday in February, and in 1770 the September term in Great Barrington was changed to the last Tuesday in August.

The Court of General Sessions was, in 1761, composed of four justices, and in 1767 the number was increased to ten. Probably when the Revolution broke out there were more than a dozen, but there are no records of the intervening period. The number was greatly increased after the Revolution, twenty-six being reported present at a session in 1800.

The accommodations for the courts at Pittsfield were insufficient, and previous to the suspension of the courts in 1773 measures had been instituted to provide a better place for their sittings. In the absence of the court records the only written evidence left of such measures is found in an unsigned draft of an agreement between the justice and juries in Pittsfield, binding the latter to erect a suitable court house. Tradition says that in two places land was tendered, and some building material collected.

Of course there was no discussion as to sites or court houses during the suspension of the courts, for there existed neither necessity for such houses, nor, in the absence of the General Sessions, any authority to build them, and when the civil government was reestablished the subject of changing the places of holding the courts began to be agitated.

At this time the population of the county, which in 1761 was almost wholly south of the north line of Pittsfield, had extended itself toward the north, but still the preponderance of wealth and numbers were in the southern towns. There was nothing then to indicate that the northern section of the county would ever equal—much less exceed—the southern portion.

The first recorded action in regard to a change was in November, 1782, when the Legislature, on the petition of Asa Barnes, a prominent citizen of Lanesboro, acting as agent for that and other towns, appointed a committee "to repair to the county of Berkshire, take a general view of it, and determine where the courts shall in future be held."

The committee—Charles Turner, Esq., General Artemas Ward, and Hon. John Sprague—visited the county in June, met the delegates of twenty-two towns at Stockbridge, and made such an examination of the county as they thought necessary, or the delegates desired. The result was a recommendation, which the Legislature adopted, that, after the 1st of January, 1784, the courts should be held at Lenox, in some convenient place between the meeting house and the dwelling of Captain Charles Dibble. This act passed in February, 1783, and in the little parliament which assembled around the General Sessions at the Great Barrington term in May a petition was set on foot praying for an indefinite postponement of the proposed change, on the ostensible ground that the county was too poor to erect the necessary buildings.

The Legislature granted a delay of two years, until January, 1786,





and the opponents of Lenox made a busy use of the respite. In the fall of 1784 a spirited contest was entered on for what was doubtless the object of the Barnes' petition, alternate courts at Great Barrington and Lanesboro, but the project met with little favor. The people, however, were so ill content that the Legislature submitted the matter again to a county convention, which assembled at Lenox, September 28th, sixteen towns being represented. The convention adjourned after appointing Woodbridge Little, of Springfield, Timothy Edwards, of Stockbridge, and William Whiting, of Great Barrington, a committee to receive the proposals of the several towns which desired to become the county seat.

On the 12th of October this committee sent to all the towns in the county circulars of which the following paragraphs form the gist:

"We the subscribers a committee of said convention, beg leave to inform you that it is the wish and desire of said convention that you, without fail, send one or more delegates to attend in a county convention to be holden by adjournment at Lenox on the second Tuesday of November next, at the dwelling house of Captain Charles Dibble, at ten of the clock in the forenoon.

"The following proposals are submitted to your consideration; and it is desired that, in your deliberations, you will attend to the same, and instruct and direct your delegate or delegates in what place or places it is the choice of your town that the courts in and for said county shall be holden.

"The proposals are as follows: Great Barrington will repair the court house in said town and furnish and provide a sufficient jail in said town for the safe keeping of prisoners, and for this purpose to give ample security provided one half of the courts be established in said town.

"Lanesboro will build and complete a good, complete and elegant court house in that town, and propose to give ample security therefor, provided one half of the courts be established in that town.

"Pittsfield will be at the sole expense of erecting a court house equal in value and elegance to the court house in Northampton, and propose to give ample security therefor, provided one half of the courts be established in said town, and the other half in Stockbridge.

"Stockbridge will give the sum of five hundred and seventy pounds and ten shillings toward the public buildings for said county, provided one half of the courts be established in said town and the other half at Pittsfield; and further proposes to give the sum of seven hundred and fifty pounds and ten shillings if all the courts shall be established in Stockbridge, and propose to give ample security for the respective sums, as the case may require.

"Lenox will give the sum of eight hundred pounds towards the public buildings, and propose to give ample security therefor, provided all the courts are finally established in that town.

"And it is further proposed that the securities above mentioned be laid before said adjourned convention, that they may be able to determine upon them as they shall judge proper."

The convention met according to adjournment, and chose Nathaniel Bishop, scribe. Delegates were present from nineteen towns, viz.—from Sheffield, Colonel Root, Mr. Raymond; Alford, Captain Brunson;





Sandisfield, Captain Kellogg; Tyringham, Mr. Gaffield (Garfield), Mr. Jackson; Becket, Mr. Brown; Washington, Captain Ashley; Lee, William Ingersoll, Esq., Captain Bradley; Stockbridge, John Bacon, Esq., Jahleel Woodbridge, Esq., Timothy Edwards, Esq.; Richmond, General Rossiter, Nathaniel Bishop, Esq.; Lenox, General Patterson, Colonel Hyde, Israel Dewey, Esq., Captain Gray, William Walker, Esq.; Pittsfield, Eli Root, Esq., Mr. (Dr.) Childs; Lanesboro, Gibson Wheeler, Esq.; Hancock, Samuel Hand, Esq.; Dalton, Captain Cleveland; Partridgefield, Mr. Kenny; Great Barrington, William Whiting, Esq., Jonathan Nash, Esq., Mr. Elisha Lee, Mayor King, Mr. Younglove; West Stockbridge, Mr. Hooker.

The propositions from the several towns which had made offers in regard to the county seat were laid before the convention and pronounced ample in each case.

The question was then put whether the courts "should in future be holden in two towns, or in one only?" and the vote stood as follows:

For one town only—Tyringham, Becket, Washington, Lee, Stockbridge, Richmond, Williamstown, Partridgefield, West Stockbridge, Lenox—*ten*.

For two towns—Sheffield, Alford, New Marlboro, Sandisfield, Pittsfield, Lanesboro, Hancock, Dalton, Great Barrington—*nine*.

The convention then selected Lenox for the shire town by the following vote:

For Stockbridge—Sheffield, Alford, New Marlboro, Sandisfield, Tyringham, Lee, Stockbridge, West Stockbridge—*eight*.

For Lenox—Becket, Washington, Richmond, Lenox, Lanesboro, Williamstown, Hancock, Dalton, Partridgefield, Great Barrington—*ten*.

With these proceedings and this decision there was much dissatisfaction, and, in 1785, the General Court appointed a commission consisting of "Hon. Caleb Strong, Warren Parks, and David Sinead, Esqs., to view the towns of Great Barrington, Lenox, Stockbridge, Pittsfield, and Lanesboro—the prominent candidates for favor—and such other places as might enable them to determine the object of their commission justly; to acquaint themselves with the roads passing through the county, and the communications between the interior and exterior towns; to pay due attention to situation, and the probability of future settlement; to hear such representations as might be made to them on the subject; and then to fix on some proper place or places, and, if they shall find more than one necessary, to determine what terms shall be held at each respectively, and which shall be the shire town."

This committee recommended that the courts should be held at Stockbridge and Pittsfield, and that Stockbridge should be the shire town and place of holding the Superior Court. The Legislature, however, adhered to the election of Lenox.

The Court of General Sessions held at Pittsfield in May, 1786, directed Eli Root, John C. Williams, and Simon Larned, all of that town,





to prepare a plan for the public buildings at Lenox, and report what material would be required. Eli Root was also appointed to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of Theodore Sedgwick on a commission previously named to select a proper site.

The succeeding terms of the court were obstructed by the Shays rebellion and the committees had no opportunity to report till May, 1787, even if they desired to do so. But early in that year, to have the Berkshire courts settled, the Legislature, rendered impatient by the exciting events which had just transpired in the county, made a peremptory order that the Court of Common Pleas should be held at Lenox in the ensuing February, and the Supreme Court in May. The first term of the Common Pleas recorded to have been held there opened September 11th, 1787.

In the meantime the Court of General Sessions, at the May term in Great Barrington, selected Theodore Sedgwick and John Bacon, of Stockbridge, and Major Azariah Eggleston, of Lenox, to determine on a site, and contract for the erection of the buildings, which David Rosditer, Nathaniel Bishop, and Benjamin Pierce were directed to superintend and have finished as soon as possible. The county buildings were actually commenced in the spring of 1788. The jail was finished, and the prisoners were removed from Great Barrington to it in the latter part of 1790, and the court house was completed in 1791 or 1792. The cost of the two buildings was £3,441, 5s., 3d., toward which, according to Dr. Field, "individuals in Lenox advanced in building materials, \$500."

The court house was a wooden building, and was subsequently used as a town hall. Another was erected in 1815, and was several times remodeled. The first jail was built on a hill about half a mile south of Lenox village, on the old Stockbridge road.

The location of the county seat at Lenox was a source of conflict between the northern and southern portions of the county during a period of eighty-one years, or till 1868.

In 1812, after the burning of the jail, the Legislature was memorialized on the subject of changing the county seat to Pittsfield, and a committee to view the situation was appointed.

This committee reported in favor of the removal on certain conditions. The matter was finally referred to a vote of the towns in the county, and after a spirited contest it was decided to retain the county seat at Lenox. New county buildings were therefore erected, and were occupied in 1816.

The question was revived in 1826, and a brief but earnest effort was made to effect a removal, but it failed.

In 1842 the county commissioners contracted for remodeling the jail as a house of correction, at a cost of \$5,250. In the same year the Western Railroad was completed, giving Pittsfield some advantages, and another unsuccessful effort was made to effect the removal to the latter place.





In 1854, when the Housatonic Railroad had been extended through the southern towns to Pittsfield, the question was again agitated. Much angry discussion in the newspapers of the county was elicited, and the Legislature finally, in November, 1854, submitted the following questions to town meetings of the people in the county: "Do you desire a removal of the courts from Lenox? and, if so, name the town or towns to which they shall be removed?"



COURT HOUSE.—PITTSFIELD.

The county decided, by a majority of about fifteen hundred, in favor of Lenox. No further decided movement was made in favor of a change till 1868; but public opinion constantly tended in that direction, and in that year, when Hon. T. F. Plunkett made a movement in the Legislature to effect it, the opposition was comparatively feeble. The propriety of the measure was generally recognized, and, by a direct vote of the Legislature, the county seat was established at Pittsfield, on condition that the



town should furnish suitable sites for the court house and jail, and provide rooms for the courts till a court house could be built.

The town of Pittsfield paid \$35,000 for the court house site, and \$6,500 for a site for a jail and house of correction.

The Legislature granted \$350,000 to be assessed on the county for the erection of the county buildings. Of this sum \$100,000 were expended for the jail, and the remainder for the court house. Subsequently \$25,000 were appropriated for furnishing the buildings, of which the greater portion was expended for the court house.

Architectural plans were furnished for the buildings by Louis Weissbein, of Boston, and the contract for building them was awarded to A. B. & D. C. Munyan. They were completed in the fall of 1871. The court house, which is one of the finest in the commonwealth, is constructed of white marble, from Sheffield, resting on a basement of dove colored marble from the same town. It was first occupied at the September term of the Supreme Court in 1871.

The jail, which stands on North Second street, is built of marble and pressed brick, the latter material being chiefly used.

The early members of the Berkshire bar were brought into much more intimate relations than are those of the present day. The old Court of General Sessions of the Peace not only had a criminal jurisdiction but also had general charge of the prudential affairs of the county, and its quarterly sessions at Great Barrington and Pittsfield often brought together many of the prominent and influential citizens from the different parts of the county. During the winter sessions especially, the long evenings afforded abundant opportunity for enjoying the genial social intercourse of judges and lawyers, which was a prominent feature on these occasions. Later, too, when the courts were held at Lenox, it was customary for the members of the bar to spend the whole week there, from Monday morning till Saturday night, and the social life then developed was always pleasant and charming. "That," says Judge Robinson, "was a notable circle of strong men who used to contend in the lists at the old court house at Lenox, and who, after the struggles of the day were over and they had reached the parlor of the Curtis boarding house across the way, made the nights delightful and memorable with their sparkling stories and converse. Those were brilliant days and nights for the younger members of the bar, who never wearied at those rare and stimulating exhibitions of power and wit. Time and fate have changed all this and rapidly removed these actors from mortal view."

During the years that have passed since the formation of Berkshire county her courts have, for the most part, been presided over by magistrates of the highest respectability and worth—

"Venerable men who by the scale  
Of equal justice hushed up country strife,"

while many of the members of her bar have won a proud eminence in their profession and achieved a high distinction in the State.





## LAW LIBRARY.

In 1815 a Law Library Association was formed by the members of the Berkshire Bar to procure law books for use during the sessions of the courts; by 1829 they had collected 300 volumes. The law library at Pittsfield now contains about 3,000 volumes, embracing the Reports of all the New England States, and New York and Pennsylvania, some of the English Reports, the American Reports and Decisions, Reports of the United States Supreme Court, and a good selection of standard text books.

## JUDGES.

Berkshire county has furnished the following judges for the several courts of the county and State:

## Supreme Judicial Court:

Theodore Sedgwick, Stockbridge, 1802-13; Daniel Dewey, Williamstown, 1814-15; Charles A. Dewey, Williamstown and Northampton, 1837-66; James D. Colt, Pittsfield, 1865-66, 1868-81.

## Court of Common Pleas:

Joseph Dwight, Great Barrington, 1761-65, presiding justice 1761-65; William Williams, Pittsfield, 1761-81, presiding justice 1765-81; Timothy Woodbridge, Stockbridge, 1761-74; John Ashley, Sheffield, 1765-81; Perez Marsh, Dalton, 1765-81; William Whiting, Great Barrington, 1781-87, presiding justice 1781-87; Jahleel Woodbridge, Stockbridge, 1781-95, presiding justice 1787-95; James Barker, Cheshire, 1781-—; Charles Goodrich, Pittsfield, 1784-88; Elijah Dwight, Great Barrington, 1787-94; Thompson J. Skinner, Williamstown, 1788-1807, presiding justice 1795-1807; John Bacon, Stockbridge, 1789-1811, presiding justice 1807-11; Nathaniel Bishop, Richmond, 1795-1811; David Noble, Williamstown, 1795-1803; William Walker, Lenox, 1807-11.

This court, as it was composed in 1799, is thus described in some verses written at that time by a member of the bar:

- (a) "A shrewd anti-federal Chief Justice presides,  
Whose name represents him a flayer of hides.
- (b) Next sits an old Democrat, stiff as a log,  
Who breaks through the fences and roots up the bog,  
Whose opponents never yet rugged him or yoked him,  
Although while alive to tough Bacon they've smoked him.
- (c) The next on the bench is a Phoenix on earth,  
A Republican Bishop and such, too, by birth,
- (d) And what is still stranger a Noble we find  
Who ever is proud of a Republican mind."

- (a) Gen. Thompson J. Skinner.
- (b) John Bacon.

- (c) Nathaniel Bishop.
- (d) Daniel Noble.

In 1811 the State was districted, and a Circuit Court of Common Pleas established for each district. Ezekiel Bacon, of Pittsfield, was chief justice of this court, for the Western District, from 1811 to 1814, there being no other member from Berkshire; this district embraced Worcester, Hampshire, Franklin, Hampden, and Berkshire counties.





This court was abolished in 1820, and there was established a Court of Common Pleas for the State, holding its sessions in the several counties. The following from Berkshire have been judges of this court :

Horatio Byington, Stockbridge, 1848-56 ; Henry W. Bishop, Lenox, 1851-59 ; George N. Briggs, Pittsfield, 1853-59.

The Court of Common Pleas was abolished in 1870, and the present Superior Court was then established. It consists of one chief justice and ten associate justices. Its sessions in this county are held at Pittsfield, for civil business, on the fourth Mondays of February, June, and October ; for criminal business, on the second Mondays of January and July. Julius Rockwell, of Lenox, appointed 1859, and James M. Barker, of Pittsfield, appointed 1882, are now justices of this court.

A law term of the Supreme Judicial Court is held at Pittsfield on the second Tuesday of September, and a jury term on the second Tuesday of May. This court consists of a chief justice and six associate justices.

The Court of Sessions from 1761 to 1807 consisted of all the justices of the peace in the county ; from the latter period, with some changes and intermissions, it consisted of a chief justice and three or four associates until 1828, when it was abolished and its powers transferred to the board of county commissioners.

Chief justices.—Nathaniel Bishop, Richmond, 1807 ; Joshua Danforth, Pittsfield, 1808 ; John Bacon, Stockbridge, 1809 ; William P. Walker, Lenox, 1819-28.

Associate Justices.—Joshua Danforth, Pittsfield, 1807-14 ; Samuel H. Wheeler, Lanesborough, 1807-9 ; Adonijah Bidwell, Tyringham, 1807-14 ; Azariah Eggleston, Lenox, 1808-14 ; William Walker, Lenox, 1809-14 ; Wolcott Hubbell, Lanesborough, 1814-27 ; Joseph Whiten, Lee, 1814-28 ; Luther Washburn, Pittsfield, 1827-28.

Clerks of the Courts.—Elijah Dwight, Great Barrington, 1761 ; Henry W. Dwight, Stockbridge, 1781 ; Joseph Woodbridge, Stockbridge, 1803 ; Charles Sedgwick, Lenox, 1821 ; Henry W. Taft (present clerk), Pittsfield, 1856.

County Attorneys.—Theodore Sedgwick, Stockbridge, — ; Ashbel Strong, Pittsfield, 1802 ; Daniel Dewey, Williamstown, — ; John Hunt, Stockbridge, 1811 ; John Whiting, Great Barrington, 1814 ; Charles A. Dewey, Williamstown, 1830-37.

District Attorneys.—Daniel A. Wells, Greenfield, 1837 ; William Porter, Lee, 1843 ; William G. Bates, Westfield, 1851 ; Increase Sumner, Great Barrington, 1852 ; Henry L. Dawes, Pittsfield, 1854 ; Edward B. Gillett, Westfield, 1857 ; George M. Stearns, Springfield, 1872 ; N. A. Leonard, Springfield, 1874 (six months) ; E. H. Lathrop, Springfield, 1875 ; N. A. Leonard, Springfield, 1878 ; Andrew J. Waterman (present attorney) Pittsfield, 1880.

Judges of Probate.—Joseph Dwight, Great Barrington, 1761 ; William Williams, Pittsfield, 1765 ; Timothy Edwards, Stockbridge, 1778 ; Jahleel Woodbridge, Stockbridge, 1787 ; William Walker, Lenox, 1793 ;





William P. Walker, Lenox, 1824; Daniel N. Dewey, Williamstown, 1848; James T. Robinson (present judge), North Adams, 1859.

Registers of Probate.—Elijah Dwight, Great Barrington, 1781; William Walker, Lenox, 1781; Edward Edwards, Stockbridge, 1785; Nathaniel Bishop, Richmond, 1795; George Whitney, Stockbridge, 1827; Henry W. Bishop, Lenox, 1870; Francis B. Farley (July to September), 1851; John Brauning, Lee, 1851; Henry W. Taft, Pittsfield, 1853; Andrew J. Waterman, Pittsfield, 1855; Edward T. Slocum (present register), Pittsfield, 1881.

#### THE BAR.

The following list is believed to contain the names of all those not now living—who had been admitted to the Berkshire bar prior to 1800. Doubtless some have been admitted to the bar in other parts of the State who practiced in this county, whose names are not given. Some of the early judges mentioned were not members of the bar.

*John Ashley*, of Sheffield, was born in 1709 and died in 1802. He was a son of Capt. John Ashley, of Westfield, who was one of the original settlers of Sheffield. He graduated at Yale College in 1730, was admitted to the bar in 1732, and settled in Sheffield. He obtained an extensive practice and was well known for his learning and integrity. He represented the towns of Southern Berkshire in the Legislature for several years. He was judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1765 to 1781. He owned about sixteen hundred acres of land in the region of Ashley Falls, two hundred acres having been given him by the proprietors "as an acknowledgment of his kindness in promoting the good of the settlement." He was a contemporary of Worthington and Hawley, leaders of the Hampshire bar.

*John Huggins*, of Sheffield, was admitted to the bar prior to 1743, and settled in Springfield where he obtained an extensive practice. The time of his removal to Sheffield is uncertain. He was skillful, well educated, and of good repute. It is said that "his declarations were distinguished for formality."

*Gen. Joseph Dwight*, son of Capt. Henry Dwight, was born in Hatfield, October 16th, 1703, and died in Great Barrington June 9th, 1765. He graduated at Harvard College in 1722, was engaged in trade in Springfield for several years, removed to Brookfield about 1731, and was probably admitted to the Hampshire bar soon after. He represented his town several years in the Legislature and was a member of the Provincial Council and speaker of the House of Representatives in 1748-9. General Dwight achieved considerable distinction in military life. In 1745 he was commander of the Massachusetts artillery at the siege and capture of Louisbourg on Cape Breton, and in the second French war (1756) he commanded a regiment on an expedition to Lake Champlain and vicinity. He resided in Stockbridge from 1751 to 1757 when he removed to Great Barrington, where he took a prominent part in public affairs. In





1739 he was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Worcester county, from 1753 to 1761 a judge of the same court for Hampshire county, and also presiding judge of the same court for Berkshire county from its formation in 1761 till his death in 1765. He was also judge of Probate for this county during the latter period. He was described by the Rev. Sylvester Burt as follows: "His personal appearance was very fine. He was dignified in his manners, an upright judge and an exemplary professor of the religion of the gospel. No man in the county, in civil life, was more esteemed, and aged people still speak of him with the greatest respect."

*Elisha Huggins*, and also *Zedack Huggins*, of Springfield, are said to have been admitted to the Hampshire bar prior to 1761, and to have settled in Sheffield.

*Col. Mark Hopkins*, son of Timothy Hopkins, of Waterbury, Conn., was born September 18th, 1739. He was the youngest brother of Rev. Samuel Hopkins of Great Barrington, under whose care he was placed upon the death of his father in 1749. He probably studied law with John Worthington, of Springfield, and was a kinsman of Mrs. Worthington. He was admitted to the bar at the first session of the court in Berkshire, in September, 1761. He settled in Great Barrington, was the first register of deeds for the county, the first county treasurer, and also the first clerk of his town. In 1765 he married Eliza Sergeant, daughter of the Rev. John Sergeant, of Stockbridge. He left six children, one of whom, Archibald, was the father of President Hopkins of Williams College. Having a liberal education and being possessed of fine abilities, he soon obtained a lucrative practice and became prominent in the town and county. He was an eminent patriot and early espoused the colonial cause, to which, on account of his high standing among his fellow citizens, he was enabled to render very efficient aid. He became a colonel in the army and commanded a detachment of Berkshire militia at Peekskill, in the summer of 1776. In October of the same year he went to White Plains, where he was taken sick, and died on the 29th of the month, just two days before the battle, at the age of thirty-seven years.

*John Pell, jr.*, was admitted to the bar in December, 1761, and practiced in Sheffield for a few years. In 1762 he was fined 10s., by the Court of Sessions, for traveling on the Lord's day. His father came from Westfield.

*Daniel Jones* was born in Weston, July 25th, 1749, graduated at Harvard in 1759, and was admitted to the bar in December, 1761. He practiced in Pittsfield. In 1763 he married a daughter of Major Elijah Williams, of Deerfield, and removed to Hinsdale, N. H. He was a reputable lawyer and judge. He died in 1786.

*Gen. John Ashley*, of Sheffield, son of John Ashley above mentioned, was born in 1735 and died in 1799. He graduated at Yale College in 1758 and was admitted to the bar in 1762. He settled upon his father's plantation in Sheffield and became one of the largest land holders in the town.





He was frequently a representative to the Legislature, was an ardent patriot and an upright magistrate. He commanded the small party which, in the time of the Shays rebellion, met and defeated the insurgents in the northwesterly part of the town of Sheffield, on the 26th of February, 1787. In 1780 he was appointed, by Gov. Hancock, major general of State militia.

*Jahleel Woodbridge*, of Stockbridge, only son of Joseph Woodbridge, graduated at Princeton College in 1761. He was repeatedly elected to the General Court, and in 1781 was appointed a justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and was presiding justice from 1787 to 1795. He was judge of Probate for the county from 1787 to 1795. He died August 13th, 1796, aged fifty-eight years, "having been esteemed," says Field, "for his good sense, integrity, and piety."

*Dr. Perez Marsh* was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1765 to 1781. He was born in Hadley, October 23th, 1723, graduated at Harvard College, and settled in Dalton. He died May 20th, 1784.

*Dr. William Whiting*, of Great Barrington, was presiding justice of the Court of Common Pleas from 1781 to 1787. He was the son of Col. William Whiting, of Bozrah, Conn., and was born April 8th, 1730. He died December 8th, 1792.

*Woodbridge Little* was born in Colchester, Conn., in 1741, and died June 21st, 1813. He graduated at Yale College in 1760, first studied theology, and then law, and was admitted to the bar in 1764. He settled in Pittsfield and was the first lawyer in that town. He was possessed of much skill and learning and took an active part in the affairs of the town. For a few years he incurred the enmity of his fellow citizens by his apparent leaning toward the royal cause. He was several times elected representative to the General Court. At his death he left most of his property to charitable institutions.

*Col. William Williams* was born at Weston in 1711 and died at Pittsfield in 1785. He graduated at Harvard College in 1729 and studied medicine. He was among the first settlers of Pittsfield and for many years he was one of the most prominent men in the town. In 1754 he built Fort Anson, on Unkameet street, which was accepted as a province garrison and for which he was allowed £63. He took an active part in the military operations of the times and held the position of colonel. He was a representative in the Legislature for a few years. He was a justice of the Court of Common Pleas from 1761 to 1765, and chief justice of that court from 1765 to 1781. He was judge of Probate for the county from 1765 to 1778.

*Capt. Charles Goodrich* was born in 1720 and died in 1816. He settled in Pittsfield in 1753 and was its first representative in the Legislature. He was a member of the Provincial Congress at Concord in 1774, and a judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Berkshire county from 1784 to 1788.

*Timothy Edwards*, eldest son of President Edwards, graduated at





Princeton College in 1757. In 1770 he settled in Stockbridge where he became quite prominent. He was a man of extensive information and was judge of Probate from 1778 to 1787. In 1779 he received the appointment of member of Congress, which he declined. He died in October, 1813, aged 75.

*Timothy Woodbridge*, of Stockbridge, was born in 1760 and died in 1774. He was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Berkshire county from 1761 until his death. Previous to the formation of this county he was for a time judge of the same court in Hampshire. He was for a long time agent and superintendent of Indian affairs and was, says Field, a man of superior abilities and acquisitions.

*William Walker* was born in Rehoboth, in 1751. In 1770 he removed to Lenox, which town he often represented in the Legislature; he was elected Senator in 1783. He was register of Probate from 1781 to 1785, and judge of Probate from 1795 to 1824 when he resigned. He was judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1807 to 1811. In 1812 he was a presidential elector. He died in 1831.

*David Ingersoll, jr.*, of Great Barrington, was born September 26th, 1742. He graduated at Yale College in 1761 and was admitted to the bar in 1765. He obtained considerable prominence in the town and was a representative to the General Court in 1770. On the breaking out of the Revolutionary war he favored the royal cause; and in 1774 he was seized by a party of Connecticut patriots and taken to Litchfield county where he was imprisoned for a short time. He soon afterward went to Boston and sailed for England where he died in 1796.

*Theodore Sedgwick, LL.D.*, was born in Hartford, Conn., in May, 1746, and died in Boston January 24th, 1813. He was educated at Yale College, and was admitted to the bar in September, 1763. He studied law under Col. Mark Hopkins, in Great Barrington, where he practiced for a few years and then removed to Sheffield. He was repeatedly elected a representative to the Legislature. In 1785 he removed to Stockbridge and during that and the succeeding year was a member of the Continental Congress. He took an active part in the suppression of the Shays rebellion. In 1788 he was speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and was a delegate to the State convention which ratified the Federal constitution. He was again elected representative to Congress in 1793, and served till 1796, when he was elected to the United States Senate; he remained in the Senate till 1799 when he was again returned to the House and was elected speaker of that body. He was a strong federalist. In 1802 he was appointed a judge of the Massachusetts Supreme Court and held that position until the time of his death. In 1780 John Ashley, of Sheffield, brought suit to recover possession of his negro slave, Elizabeth Freeman; Mr. Sedgwick appeared for the defendant and secured her freedom under the Massachusetts bill of rights shortly before adopted. This was the death blow to slavery in this State.

*Thomas Williams*, son of Dr. Williams of Deerfield, was born in





1746. He studied law with Mark Hopkins and was admitted to the bar in September, 1770. He commenced practice in Stockbridge "with the prospect of eminence." He was a lieutenant colonel in the Revolutionary war, and while on an expedition to Canada he was taken sick, and died at Whitehall, July 10th, 1776, aged thirty.

*David Noble*, of Williamstown, was born at New Milford, Conn., December 9th, 1744, and died in 1803, aged fifty-nine. He graduated at Yale College in 1764, was admitted to the bar in September, 1770, and settled in Williamstown. He was one of the first trustees of Williams College to which he presented a bell and the land on which the president's house was built. He was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1795 until the time of his death.

*John Bacon*, of Stockbridge, was judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1789, and presiding judge from 1807 to 1811. He was born in Canterbury, Conn., in 1737, and graduated at Princeton College in 1763. He was minister of the old South Church in Boston from 1771 to 1773. He was chosen speaker of the State Senate and was elected representative to Congress. "He had a strong mind," says Field, "was fond of debate and tenacious in his opinions, but decided in prosecuting what he deemed his duty." He died October 25th, 1820, aged eighty three.

*Gen. Thompson Joseph Skinner*, although not a lawyer, was justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1788, and chief justice of that court from 1795 to 1807. He was the son of Rev. Thomas Skinner of Colchester, Conn. He settled in Williamstown in 1773 and soon acquired an extensive influence in the town and county. He served in the State Senate and House, and was a representative in Congress in 1797-99. In 1806 he was chosen treasurer and receiver general of the commonwealth, but was found, on retiring from office, to be a defaulter to the amount of about \$60,000. He took an active part in the political contentions of that time. In the army he rose to the rank of major general. He died in Boston, January 20th, 1809, in his fifty-seventh year.

*Col. John Brown*, of Pittsfield, was born in Haverhill, October 19th, 1744, and was killed October 19th, 1780, at Stone Arabia, in Palatine, N. Y. He graduated at Yale College in 1771, studied law with his sister's husband, Hon. Oliver Arnold, in Providence, R. I., and practiced for a short time in Johnstown, N. Y., where he was appointed king's attorney. He settled in Pittsfield in 1773. He was a brave patriot, of noble men and fine abilities. He was a delegate to the Provincial Congress at Cambridge in 1773, and a member of the General Court in 1778. His father, Daniel Brown, removed to Sandisfield in 1752.

*Ashbel Strong*, of Pittsfield, son of Rev. Thomas Strong, was born in New Marlborough January 10th, 1754. He graduated at Yale College in 1776, and was admitted to the bar in 1781. He was a member of the General Court in 1790, and was county attorney in 1802. He was a man of ability and a noted federalist.

*John Chandler Williams* was born in Roxbury in 1755. He gradu-





ated at Harvard College in 1778, studied law with Hon. John Worthington, of Springfield, and began practice in Pittsfield in 1782. He married Lucretia, daughter of Col. Israel Williams, of Hatfield, a prominent tory and friend of Governor Hutchinson. He won the confidence of the people by his integrity and honesty, and gained their admiration by his legal learning and skill. He was a member of the General Court for a number of years.

*Nathaniel Bishop* was born in Guilford, Conn., June 18th, 1751. He removed to Richmond in 1777, and soon became a prominent inhabitant of that town, which he often represented in the Legislature. He was register of Probate from 1795 to 1823, and was one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas from 1795 to 1811. He was an intimate friend of Judge William Walker. He was modest and retiring but had fine talents, was a man of integrity, and possessed the confidence of the people. He died February 1st, 1826.

*Thomas Gold*, a son of Rev. Hezekiel Gold, was born in Cornwall, Conn., in 1760. He graduated at Yale College in 1779, was admitted to the bar in 1781, and settled in Pittsfield. He was at one time president of the Agricultural Bank, and also of the agricultural society. He was shrewd and ambitious and attained some prominence as a lawyer and advocate, but apparently did not win the full confidence of the people.

*Gen. Thomas Ives* was born in North Haven, Conn., February 21, 1753, and died in Great Barrington, March 8th, 1814. He graduated at Yale College in 1777, received the degree of A. M. in 1780, and was admitted to the bar in Litchfield county, Conn., the same year. He was admitted to the Berkshire bar in February, 1782, and soon after settled in Great Barrington. In 1783 he was chosen by the General Court a collector of imposts and excise for Berkshire county. He represented the town for thirteen years in the lower branch of the Legislature and for one year was a member of the State Senate. In 1800 he was appointed a special justice of the Court of Common Pleas. General Ives took great interest in military affairs and was an earnest supporter of the government during the Shays rebellion. He was a man of great energy and perseverance. He devoted much attention to agriculture, was a strong federalist in politics, and acquired an extensive practice in law.

*Erastus Pixley*, son of Moses Pixley, graduated at Yale College in 1780 and was admitted to the bar in 1785. He practiced law in Great Barrington, his native town, but removed to Vermont about 1790.

*Elisha Lee*, a native of Salisbury, Conn., graduated at Yale College in 1777, was admitted to the bar in February, 1783, and settled in Sheffield. He appears to have practiced for a short time in Great Barrington, about 1784-5.

*Daniel Dewey* was born in Sheffield, and died in Williamstown, May 26th, 1815, in the fiftieth year of his age. He was, for two years, a member of the class of 1780 in Yale College, from which he received the honorary degree of master of arts in 1792. He studied law with Judge





Theodore Sedgwick, of Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in May, 1787, and settled in Williamstown. He was eminently successful in the practice of his profession. He was a member of the governor's council in 1809 and 1812, and represented Berkshire in the XIIIth Congress. On the death of Chief Justice Parsons Mr. Dewey was appointed by Governor Strong as one of the justices of the Superior Judicial Court; this was in February, 1814, only a little more than a year prior to his death, which was caused by consumption. The following is an extract from Chief Justice Parker's address to the grand jury, in June, 1815:

"Judge Dewey is now no more. The seat that was destined for him on this circuit is vacant, and all that remains in us of him is the remembrance of his past life, his amiable temper, his modest and refined manners, his diligence and activity in business, his wise and impartial administration of justice, his true love of his country, and his exemplary piety and devout obedience to the will of his God. \* \* \* \* The citizens of the county of Berkshire, which was the principal theatre of his active employments, loved and revered him. He is almost the only man, in an elevated rank, of fixed and unalterable political opinions, and who was never remiss in enforcing those opinions, that has been at no time calumniated. \* \* \* \* While upon the bench he exhibited all the useful and desirable qualities of a judge, in as great a degree as was possible for one laboring under so painful and distressing a complaint. He was patient, dispassionate, diligent, and intelligent. He discovered to his brethren that he possessed a deep knowledge of the principles of law, and of the rules of practice; that he was liberal and enlarged in his views, candid in his opinions, compassionate in his feelings, but inflexibly just in his decisions. He was truly such a man as every virtuous and enlightened people would desire to see placed in the judgment seat; possessing knowledge without vanity, learning without ostentation, wisdom without severity; tempering judgment with mercy, and always desirous to establish law on its true foundations—equity and right."

*Ephraim Williams*, of Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in September, 1787.

*Jonathan Woodbridge*, of Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in September, 1789.

*Enoch W. Thayer*, a native of Ware, was admitted to the bar in March, 1780. He practiced for a while in each of the towns of Sheffield, Lenox, and West Stockbridge.

*Samuel H. Wheeler*, a native of Lanesborough, was admitted to the bar in February, 1791. He was an associate justice of the Court of Sessions from 1807 till 1809. He afterward removed to the State of New York.

*Thomas Gold*, of Lanesborough, was admitted to the bar in September, 1790.

*Gen. John Whiting*, of Great Barrington, was born January 26, 1771, in the house then recently built by his father, Gamaliel Whiting. The





location of the house is indicated by the Soldiers' Monument, the base of which rests on the ample hearthstone of the old basement kitchen. His ancestry is traceable to William Whiting, one of the first settlers of Hartford, Conn. General Whiting was the youngest of several brothers; he was of feeble frame, but intellectually well endowed, giving promise of distinction. His opportunities for education at home being very limited he was placed in the care of a relative in Middletown, Conn., by the name of Goodwin, whose family was distinguished for literary attainments and social position. Afterward for a brief period he studied Latin under Rev. Dr. Porter, of Spencertown, N. Y. He then studied law with Gen. Thomas Ives, of Great Barrington, and was admitted to the bar in April, 1792. He was very critical and exact in framing his declarations and pleadings and in drafting contracts, bonds, and conveyances, so that his instructor confided much in this department to him. In 1794 he was appointed county attorney by the governor. He carefully and economically performed all the duties of this office; at sessions of the court he saved much expense to the county, although involving serious and exhausting labor for himself, by a careful consideration of the complaints and an early presentment of the bills of indictment, so that the juries could be dismissed at the earliest possible date thereafter. He was elected captain of the town militia at a time when it was untrained and undisciplined, but by prompt and vigorous action he soon overcame all disorderly conduct. He was rapidly promoted to the rank of major-general, and upon his retirement from the service received high praise from Governor Lincoln. Though not ambitious for political preferment he repeatedly represented his town and county in the House and Senate. His limited opportunities for education made him earnest to secure better advantages for the community about him. To three of his sons he gave a collegiate education. For fifty-two years he attended continuously to the duties of his profession, at every term of the Common Pleas and Supreme Courts, with only two exceptions. General Whiting was always an example of moderation and simplicity in diet, and of entire abstinence from tobacco and intoxicants. He died January 13th, 1846, aged seventy-five years.

*Ethan Stone*, a native of Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in September, 1792. He practiced for a time in Lenox and then removed to Cincinnati, Ohio.

*Thomas Allen*, of Pittsfield, son of Rev. Thomas Allen, was born in 1769. He graduated at Harvard College in 1789 and was admitted to the bar in September, 1792. He was elected representative to the Legislature in 1805, and died in Boston while serving a second term, March 22d, 1808. He was a learned and skillful lawyer and an eloquent speaker. Though an ardent democrat he was highly esteemed by even his political opponents and greatly endeared to many. Of a kind and merciful disposition yet his temper was fiery enough when aroused. He inherited his father's political and religious opinions and defended them with unflinching ability.



*Eli Porter Ashmun*, of Pittsfield, was admitted to the bar in September, 1794. He was a member of the United States Senate from 1816 to 1818.

*Mason Whiting*, son of Dr. William Whiting, of Great Barrington, was admitted to the bar in April, 1797. He removed to Chenango Point, N. Y.

*William H. Raymond*, a native of Sheffield, was admitted to the bar in April, 1795. He practiced law in Lenox for awhile, and died in Charleston, S. C.

*Eliab Breger*, a native of Tyringham, graduated at Yale College in 1793, was admitted to the bar in April, 1797, and settled in Lenox. He died April 6th, 1804, aged thirty-four.

*John W. Hulbert*, son of Dr. John and Marcia Handin Hulbert, was born in Alford, June 1st, 1770. He was admitted to the bar in September, 1797, practiced for awhile in Sheffield, but removed to Pittsfield about 1800. He was a leading federalist and was a member of Congress from 1815 to 1817. He was styled the "silver-tongued" by his admirers, on account of his eloquence, which was poignant and incisive but polished. "He was," says Stoith, "a man of brilliant intellect and keen wit, of genial temperament and fascinating manners."

*Joseph Woodbridge*, of Stockbridge, was born July 22d, 1771. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1792, studied law with Judge Sedgwick, and was admitted to the bar in April, 1796. In 1800 he married Louisa, daughter of Mark Hopkins. In 1803 he succeeded Henry W. Dwight as clerk of the courts, which office he filled till 1824. He was once chosen presidential elector. He was an accomplished gentleman of the old school, punctilious, dignified, and courteous in his manners. He had an uncommon reverence for the Bible, and was a man of distinguished virtues and excellences. He was a good scholar in Greek and Latin. He died April 23d, 1829.

*Ezekiel Bacon*, of Pittsfield, son of Hon. John Bacon, of Stockbridge, was born in Boston, September 1st, 1776. He graduated at Yale College in 1794, and was admitted to the bar in 1798. He was chief judge of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas for the Western District from 1811 to 1814. He was a leading democrat and a member of Congress from 1807 to 1813; he was chairman of the committee on ways and means in 1812. He was also controller of the U. S. Treasury. He removed to Euen, N. Y., probably in 1815. He was an intimate friend of Judge Story. "With pure, unselfish, and patriotic aims, of sound and independent judgment, well read in the principles of government and guided by full and accurate information, Ezekiel Bacon ranked high among the very best class of American Legislators."

*Calvin Waldo*, of Dalton, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1789 and was admitted to the bar in 1799. He died August 29th, 1815, aged fifty-six.

*Barnabas Bidwell*, of Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar probably





about 1790. He was appointed county treasurer in 1791, and served as State Senator in 1801-4, and as member of Congress 1803-6.

*Samuel Quincy*, of Boston, graduated at Harvard College in 1782, studied law, and settled in Lenox. He was register of deeds from 1790 to 1801. He died January 19th, 1816, aged fifty-one.

*Thomas Allen*, a native of Sharon, Conn., was admitted to the bar in 1799 and settled in Hinsdale.

*Daniel Noble* was born in Williamstown July 21st, 1776, and graduated at Williams College in 1796. He studied law with Judge Thayer and was admitted to the bar probably in 1800. He practiced in South Adams till 1811 and then settled in Williamstown. He was elected a representative to the General Court in 1817 and 1818, and was a member of the governor's council in 1821 and 1822. He was the first alumnus of Williams College to be placed on her board of trustees and it was largely due to his exertions that the college was not removed to Northampton. He died November 22d, 1830, when on a visit to Portland, Me., on business connected with the college.

*Henry Barnard*, of Sheffield, was admitted to the bar in January, 1796. He removed to Franklin county.

*Ephraim A. Judson*, of Sandisfield, was the only son of Rev. Ephraim Judson, of Sheffield. He graduated at Williams College in 1797 and was admitted to the bar about 1800. He died March 9th, 1827, aged thirty-one.

*Chauncy Lusk* was born in Stockbridge August 4th, 1773, and graduated at Williams College in 1795; he was then appointed a tutor in the college. He was a good scholar and instructor and a man of amiable character. He studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1800, and settled in Lanesboro, where he died of consumption in 1803.

*Thomas Williams*, son of Ephraim Williams, of Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in January, 1804.

*Frederick Hunt*, of Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in January, 1804.

*John Hunt*, of Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in April, 1805. He was county attorney from 1811 to 1814.

*William Perrin Walker*, son of Judge William Walker, of Lenox, was born October 8th, 1778. He graduated at Williams College in 1798 and was admitted to the bar in January, 1802. He was State Senator in 1810, 1811, and 1815, member of the council in 1823, judge of Probate, 1824-48, and chief justice of the Court of Sessions from 1819 to 1828. He was a ripe scholar, a learned lawyer, and a man of undoubted capacity and integrity. He died November 11th, 1828.

*Bartlett Allen*, of Lenox, was admitted to the bar in January, 1805.

*David Bishop Curtis*, of Sandisfield, was a native of Granville. He graduated at Williams College in 1801 and was admitted to the bar in 1806. He died at Black Rock, N. Y., in 1812.

*Moses Hayden, jr.*, of Pittsfield, was born in Conway. He gradu-





ated at Williams College in 1804 and was admitted to the bar in April, 1808. He settled in Livingston county, N. Y., and died in 1830.

*Samuel Howe*, of Pittsfield, was admitted to the bar in 1808.

*Augustus Collins*, of Lee, a native of Guilford, was admitted to the bar in December, 1807. He removed to Westfield after practicing in Lee for two or three years.

*Douglas W. Shouse*, of Lee, was born in Williamstown in 1784, graduated at Williams College in 1803, and was admitted to the bar in December, 1807. About 1830 he removed to New Albany, Ind., where he died in 1839. He was an extensive landholder.

*Henry Hubbard*, son of John Hubbard, of Sheffield was born May 22d, 1783, and was educated at Williams College, class of 1801. He studied law with his brother-in-law, Hon. John W. Hulbert, and was admitted to the bar in August, 1803. He began practice in Lanesborough, removed to Dalton in 1815, and to Pittsfield in 1821. He was twice a representative to the Legislature and for three years a member of Governor Lincoln's council. For about nine years he was editor of the *Berkshire County Whig*. He took an active part in town affairs and aided in securing important local improvements. He had a delicate and rare sense of honor and despised all meanness. Earnest and impulsive, a close observer, varied reader, and deep thinker, he was one of the most interesting speakers. He died December 25th, 1863.

*Ezra Kellogg* was admitted to the bar in August, 1806.

*Luther Washburn*, a native of Hardwick, was admitted to the bar in 1807. He practiced for nearly twenty years in Lanesborough and then settled in Pittsfield. He was an able lawyer, and an associate justice of the Court of Sessions in 1827 and 1828.

*Charles Dewey*, of Sheffield, was admitted to the bar in August, 1805. He practiced in this county for a few years and then removed to Indiana.

*Robert F. Barnard*, of Sheffield, was admitted to the bar in August, 1805. He was a fine man and a good lawyer. He served as county commissioner and master in chancery, and was State Senator in 1826 and 1829. He died about 1855.

*Samuel Jones*, of Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in August, 1808.

*Henry Dwight Sedgwick*, of Stockbridge, son of Judge Theodoro Sedgwick, was born in Sheffield in 1785. He was educated at Williams College and was admitted to the bar in April, 1808. He practiced law in New York city with his brother, Robert. He died in Stockbridge, December 23d, 1831.

*Robbins Kellogg* was admitted to the bar in August, 1805. He practiced for many years in West Stockbridge where he died.

*Thomas Barnard Strong* was born in New Marlborough in 1799, and graduated at Yale College in 1807. He studied law with his uncle, the Hon. Ashbel Strong, by whom he was adopted, was admitted to the bar



in 1800, and settled in Pittsfield. He was several times elected a representative to the Legislature. Inheriting an ample fortune he did not devote himself exclusively to his profession but gratified his tastes for liberal studies and for farming.

*Jashub B. Luce*, of Pittsfield, was born in 1784 and died in 1810. He graduated at Williams College at the age of twenty and was admitted to the bar in April, 1809.

*Ambrose Kasson*, of Pittsfield, was admitted to the bar in April 1809. He appears to have been in practice in South Adams in 1813 where he directed the first legal studies of Gov. George S. Briggs.

*William C. Jarvis*, born in Boston, was admitted to the bar in 1811, and removed to Pittsfield about 1815. He represented Pittsfield in the Legislature for four years and was several times speaker of the House. In 1825 he removed to Woburn having been appointed director of the State prison. He was State Senator in 1828. He was a man of learning and talents, with liberal views, and a lawyer of high rank.

*Thomas A. Gold*, son of Major Thomas Gold, was born in Pittsfield in 1788 and died in 1854. He graduated at Williams College in 1806, was admitted to the bar in 1809, and practiced law for many years.

*David Perry, jr.*, was born in Rehoboth, was admitted to the bar in August, 1809, and settled in Pittsfield.

*Benjamin Sheldon*, of New Marlborough, graduated at Williams College in 1806 and was admitted to the bar in 1809. He died in 1849, aged fifty-five.

*Samuel Johnson*, of New Marlborough, was admitted to the bar in December, 1809.

*Chauncey Halbert*, son of Philander and Clarinda Crane Halbert, was born in Alford March 25th, 1788, and was admitted to the bar in December, 1809. He practiced for a time in Pittsfield and then removed, probably to New York State.

*Lonson Nash*, of Egremont, was born in 1781 and graduated at Williams College in 1801. He was admitted to the bar in August, 1805, and removed to Gloucester where he practiced law over fifty years. He died in Egremont in 1863.

*Charles Bushuel*, of Sheffield, was admitted to the bar in 1800. He removed to Natchez, Miss.

*Robert L. Potter*, of Great Barrington, was admitted to the bar in 1810. About 1814 he removed to Mendville, Penn.

*George H. Ives*, was born in Great Barrington April 15th, 1789. He studied law with his father, Gen. Thomas Ives, and was admitted to the bar in April, 1810. He succeeded to the business of his father who died in 1814. He died April 29th, 1825, aged thirty-six.

*Joseph Dennison*, of Great Barrington, was admitted to the bar in August, 1810.

*John Hooker*, of Springfield, was admitted to the bar in 1809 and practiced for awhile in Pittsfield.





*Josiah Hooker*, of Springfield, graduated at Yale College in 1815, was admitted to the bar in 1820, and practiced for a time in Pittsfield.

*Lester Filley*, of Otis, was admitted to the bar in August, 1812. In 1813 he married Miss Coriutha Twining, sister of Thomas Twining, Esq. He was a good judge of law and an excellent counselor. He always carefully prepared his cases, and secured an extensive practice. He was elected representative in the Legislature and was twice a State Senator. In 1838-9 he was president of the Berkshire Agricultural Society. He practiced law in Otis for many years and then removed to Lee where he died October 16th, 1850.

*John Mills*, of Otis, was admitted to the bar in August, 1812.

*Augustus Sherrill*, of Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in August, 1811.

*Nathan Putnam*, of Adams, was admitted to the bar in August, 1812. He was a grandson of Col. Israel Putnam, of Connecticut. He was a good business lawyer. He died about 1840.

*Henry W. Taylor*, of Pittsfield, was admitted to the bar in August, 1812.

*Col. Henry W. Dwight*, of Stockbridge, was born February 28th, 1788, and was admitted to the bar in December, 1810. He was a member of Congress in 1821, and president of the Berkshire Agricultural Society in 1822. At one time he was the leading advocate at the Berkshire bar; he was a man of commanding and superior personal appearance, of great ability, and uncommon eloquence and address. He was wonderfully successful with juries. He died in 1840.

*Thomas Robinson*, of North Adams, was born in Windsor, December 20th, 1787. He studied law with Hon. Isaac C. Bates, of Northampton, and then with Hon. Daniel Noble, of Adams, and was admitted to the bar in December, 1810. He practiced for many years in South Adams, and then removed to North Adams, where he died at the age of eighty. He held the office of master in chancery for several years. He had a large business and ranked among the first lawyers of his time. His mind was clear, comprehensive, and discriminating, and his pleadings were accurate and precise. His arguments before the full court always carried great weight with them and were striking for lucidity and logic. His coolness and composure at all times were remarkable. He loved his profession and was exclusively devoted to it.

*James Alderman Hyde*, born in New Marlborough, graduated at Williams College in 1807, was admitted to the bar in August, 1811, and settled in Great Barrington. He was in practice with Gen. John Whiting till 1825. He was clerk of the town for thirteen years. In 1819 he defeated William Cullen Bryant for that office, but was in turn defeated by the latter in the election of the following year. He was a modest, retiring, worthy, and useful citizen. He died July 4th, 1830, aged 54.

*Reginald M. Kirby*, of Litchfield, Conn., was admitted to the bar in August, 1811, and settled in Pittsfield. He was in the war of 1812





and rose to the rank of major. He married Harriet, daughter of Col. Simon Larned.

*James Popoon*, of Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in December, 1811.

*Fordyce Merrick*, of Pittsfield, was admitted to the bar in December, 1811.

*Ambrose Hall*, of Williamstown, was admitted to the bar in August, 1805.

*Daniel B. Bush*, of Pittsfield, was admitted to the bar in January 1814. He was elected representative to the Legislature in 1823, 1827 and 1828.

*Dyer Bancroft*, of Pittsfield, was admitted to the bar in January, 1814, and settled in Chesterfield. He graduated at Williams College in 1809 and was for two years a tutor in the college. He died in 1868, aged eighty.

*Calvin Hubbell, jr.*, of Lanesborough, graduated at Williams College in 1810, was admitted to the bar in September, 1813, and died soon afterward.

*Walcott Lawrence*, of Pittsfield born in the town of Washington, was admitted to the bar in April, 1812.

*Rollin C. Decey*, born in Sheffield, was admitted to the bar in April 1813. He practiced several years in Lee and then removed to Indiana.

*Alvan Coe*, born in Granville, practiced law in Lee two years from 1807, and then studied theology.

*Charles Seligwick*, of Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in September, 1814. He was clerk of the courts from 1821 to 1830 and was highly esteemed by all. He was always courteous and obliging, and his mind was as clear as his heart was kind.

*Rufus Bacon*, of Pittsfield, was admitted to the bar in September, 1814.

*Cyrus Byington*, born in Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in September, 1814, and settled in Sheffield. He was a missionary among the Choctaws.

*Calvin Martin*, born in Hancock, August 7th, 1787, was admitted to the bar in September, 1814, and settled in Pittsfield, where he died September 6th, 1867. He was a prosperous citizen and contributed liberally to the Berkshire Athenæum.

*William Cullen Bryant* was a member of the Berkshire bar for almost ten years. He was born in Cummington, Hampshire county, November 3d, 1794, and died in New York city June 12th, 1878. He began the study of law with Judge Howe, of Worthington, and completed his course with Hon. William Baylies, of Bridgewater. He began practice in Plainfield in 1814, but removed to Great Barrington in the following year. He was associated in practice with George H. Ives in 1816-17. He was succeeded in practice here by Hon. Increase Sumner, who said of him that "he practiced at our bar with distinction and success;" but, how-



ever that may be, it seems probable that he was never very fond of the legal profession, his tastes rather inclining him to the field of literature. In referring to his life in Berkshire Mr. Bryant once wrote: "My nine years of practice at that bar were a useful mental discipline to me, however imperfectly turned to account, and my residence in your beautiful county was a most fortunate event of my life." He was elected town clerk of Great Barrington in opposition to James A. Hyde, Esq., in 1823. In 1824 he was married to Miss Francis Fairchild and the record of that event is found in his own handwriting in the books of the town. He gave up the practice of law and removed to New York city in 1825.

*Josiah Quiney*, of Sheffield, a native of Lenox, was admitted to the bar in January, 1815. He removed to Romley, N. H.

*Charles A. Dewey*, son of Judge Daniel Dewey, was born in Williamstown in 1793, and was admitted to the bar in April, 1815. He was a judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts from May 25th, 1837, until the time of his death, August 22d, 1866. Although he removed to Northampton in 1824 he continued to practice at the terms of court in this county until his appointment to the bench. He was the father of Judge Francis H. Dewey, of Worcester. At a meeting of members of the Berkshire bar in Lenox, shortly after Judge Dewey's death, Bishop and Sumner paid fitting tributes to his memory. The following extracts are from the remarks made by Chief Justice Bigelow on that occasion:

"Possessed of a keen and discriminating mind, he had at the same time a far reaching sagacity and sound judgment which held in check the rapid suggestions of his intellect, so that his ultimate conclusions were always wise and safe, fully adequate to the occasion, but never extending further than was necessary to the decision of the question before him.

"His moral, not less than his intellectual traits, peculiarly fitted him for judicial station. His equanimity of temperament, genuine kindness of heart, and absolute freedom from prejudice of every kind enabled him to judge with perfect fairness and to hold the scales of justice with even-handed impartiality. His kindly nature shone forth in his affability and courtesy.

"His religious convictions were clear, firm, and well settled. He made public profession of his faith in Christian dispensation at a period of life when his judgment had become mature, and under circumstances which indicated that his faith must have been the result of reason and reflection. His success in life was due to his constant devotion to his profession. From the time of his admission to the bar to the last day of his life, his main object was to discharge his duties. From them he did not suffer himself to be diverted."

*Richard O. Hulbert*, son of Phileander Hulbert, of Alford, and brother to Chauncey Hulbert, Esq., was born June 12th, 1792. He was admitted to the bar in September, 1815. He practiced in Sheffield until 1821 when he removed to New York State, and afterward to Erie, Pennsylvania.

*Joseph Tucker*, of Lenox, was born in Stockbridge, and was admitted to the bar in January, 1816. He was register of deeds from 1841 to 1847.





and was also county treasurer for many years. He was an excellent man and was very highly esteemed by the people.

*George Whitney*, of Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in January, 1816. He was register of Probate from 1823 to December, 1825.

*William Porter*, son of Dr. William Porter, was born in Hadley in November, 1792. He graduated at Williams College in 1813, was admitted to the bar in 1817, and settled in Lee, where he remained until his death in 1853. He was State Senator in 1834 and in the same year was chosen trustee of Williams College. He was district attorney for eight years from 1843. Although he was not brilliant or eloquent his piety at the bar carried great weight with them. He loved learning and did much for the educational interests of his town.

*Matthias R. Laucklin*, of Pittsfield, a native of Washington, was admitted to the bar in October, 1817. He was quite active in town affairs and took especial interest in building the Pontiac and Turnpike and in the measures which led to the location of the Boston & Albany Railroad on its present site. He was an astute and active lawyer and well versed in the ordinary practice of the courts. When a Police Court was established in Pittsfield in 1850 he was made its first judge and served well. He was elected a representative to the Legislature in 1856-7. He died April 30th, 1869, aged eighty-two.

*Lawson D. Bidwell*, born in Monterey, March 21st, 1791, graduated at Williams College in 1814, and was admitted to the bar in October, 1817. He settled in South Lee, where he remained in practice till 1851, when he removed to Stockbridge and devoted his attention to agriculture. "He was a man of practical wisdom, amiable in his disposition, and of exemplary character." He died in 1863, aged seventy-two.

*John R. Porter* graduated at Williams College in 1810, was admitted to the bar in October, 1817, and settled in Pittsfield.

*Thomas Twining*, of Sandisfield, was born in 1794, graduated at Williams College in 1814, and was admitted to the bar in October, 1817, having studied law with Lester Filley Esq., of Otis. He removed to Stockbridge in 1838, afterward to Lenox, and then to Great Barrington where he died November 14th, 1865. He was high sheriff of the county from 1838 to 1843 and from 1848 to 1852.

*George Nixon Briggs* was born in Adams, April 12th, 1795, and died in Pittsfield, September 11th, 1861. He began the study of law with Ambrose Kasson, at Adams, in September, 1813. In the following year he entered the office of Luther Washburn, at Lanesborough, and was admitted to the bar in October, 1818. He began practice in Adams but removed to Lanesborough in 1823, and to Pittsfield in 1842. Hon. Increase Sumner, speaking of Mr. Briggs, says:

"He found the ground occupied by distinguished members of the legal profession; such men as Dwight, and Jarvis, and Mills, and Howd, in the freshness and full vigor of their powers, were his competitors, but such were not subjects that he at once took rank with them as their peer, and succeeded in closing with them against





fully the patronage and business afforded in the courts. \* \* \* \* In his addresses to the jury and in his arguments to the Court he was lucid and methodical, seizing upon the true points, not burdening the cause by introducing such as were weak or immaterial; and his views were ever presented briefly, uniformly, and impressively. Fond as he was in colloquy of relating anecdotes as well for illustration as for pleasantry, he wholly abstained from them in his forensic efforts. He was affable, candid, and earnest."

In 1853 he was appointed by Governor Clifford, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, which position he held until the court was abolished and the Superior Court organized in its stead.

*Henry Marsh*, of Dalton, graduated at Williams College in 1814, and was admitted to the bar in 1819. He died about 1852.

*Charles Leavenworth*, of Egremont, a native of Canaan, N. Y., graduated at Yale College in 1815, and was admitted to the bar in June, 1819. He died January 24th, 1829, aged thirty-three.

*Horatio Bingham* was born in Stockbridge about 1798 and died February 5th, 1856. He acquired a good classical education in the schools of his native town, where he was distinguished for his indefatigability and industry, and for the accuracy of his knowledge. He began the study of law in the office of Joseph Woodbridge, of Stockbridge, for many years clerk of the courts in Berkshire county, and completed his course under Judge Howe, a famous instructor and law lecturer in Hampshire county. He was admitted to the bar in October, 1821, and settled in Plainfield, but returned in 1822 to Stockbridge. From that time until his appointment to the bench of the Court of Common Pleas, in 1849, he had an extensive practice. His severe moral principles and love of un-mixed truth would not allow him to countenance, much less to aid the artful in their contrivances or the indirect in their stratagems. His associates at the bar and especially the younger members of the profession he ever treated with kindness and consideration. He spent much time over his books and made thorough preparation for all his cases. He had a rare passion for legal investigation while his powers of discrimination were quick and strong.

*Edward F. Ensign*, of Sheffield, graduated at Yale College in 1817 and was admitted to the bar in 1820. He was a good business lawyer and of excellent standing in the community. In 1847 he was appointed high sheriff of the county and served for a number of years.

*Parker Larned Hall* was a native of Pownal, Vt. He graduated at Williams College in 1818, and was admitted to the bar in October, 1822. He settled in Sheffield but afterward removed to Pittsfield. He was a successful lawyer and a prosperous business man. He died in 1849, aged fifty-three.

*Daniel D. Robinson*, of Adams, was admitted to the bar in October, 1821, and died prior to 1829.

*Homor Bartlett*, was born in Granby in 1795. He graduated at Williams College in 1818, studied law with Hon. Daniel Noble, and was ad-



mitted to the bar in October, 1821. He opened an office in Williamstown. In 1824 he became cashier of a bank in Ware, and in 1830 removed to Boston.

*Theodore S. Pomeroy*, of Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in February, 1821.

*Henry Walker Bishop*, of Lenox, was born in Richmond, April 13th, 1796, and died April 13th, 1871. He was a son of Nathaniel Bishop, for many years a judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Mr. Bishop graduated at Williams College in 1817, being valedictorian, while his roommate, Emory Washburn, afterward governor of the State, was salutatorian of the same class. He began practice in Richmond in 1821, but in 1827 was appointed register of probate, and removed to Lenox; he held that office for twenty-five years. In 1851 he was appointed a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and held that position until the court was abolished in 1850. In 1853 he was the democratic candidate for governor, while his former college classmate, Emory Washburn, was the opposing and successful candidate. He was also a number of times the democratic candidate for Congress, and in one or two instances was defeated by only a small majority. He was a member from Lenox of the constitutional convention in 1849, and represented his district in the Legislature in 1860. He was appointed a trustee of Williams College in 1847. In 1862 he received the degree of LL.D. from his Alma Mater. Judge Bishop was a man of large and varied acquirements. He was always a hard student and was well informed in the various departments of political science, philosophical speculation, history, and general literature. During the later years of his life he abandoned his profession and devoted himself to those rural pursuits for which he had a great fondness, and that brave life which he so much loved. He was married in 1822 to Miss Sarah J. Buckley, of Williamstown.

*Gov. Emory Washburn*, was born in Leicester in 1800 and died in 1877. He graduated at Williams College in 1817, and was admitted to the bar in this county in 1821, at the same time as his classmate, Henry W. Bishop, but he did not practice here.

*Charles Baker*, of Williamstown, was a scholar of high standing and valedictorian of the class of 1820 at Williams College. He was admitted to the bar about 1822, and practiced in partnership with Hiram Daniel Noble. He was born in Conway, Mass., in 1798, and was killed by lightning in 1829, while on a visit to his native town.

*William P. Briggs*, of Adams, was admitted to the bar in February, 1823. He was an excellent advocate. He was related to Gov. George N. Briggs. He removed to Richmond, Vt.

*Joseph Sherrill*, brother of Augustus Sherrill Esq., of Stockbridge, graduated at Williams College in 1814, and was admitted to the bar in June, 1823. He practiced little, if any. He died of cholera in 1872 in Washington, where he was a clerk in the post office department.





*Norman T. Leonard*, born in Sheffield in 1800, was admitted to the bar in 1824, and removed to Westfield.

*Edward Keltogg*, admitted to the bar in February, 1825, was located in West Stockbridge for a short time and then removed to Cayman Center, N. Y., where he engaged in farming. He was a very fine man and for many years a justice of the peace for his town.

*John C. Whiting*, son of Gen. John Whiting, of Great Barrington, graduated at Williams College in 1822 and was admitted to the bar in June, 1825. He practiced for a few years with his father and then removed to New York city where he died May 16, 1834.

*Increase Sumner*, of Great Barrington, was born in Oris, May 12th, 1801. He was a son of Daniel Sumner, of Middletown, Conn., one of the early settlers of Oris. He studied law with Hon. Leason Folley for five years, and was admitted to the bar in June, 1825; he then removed to Great Barrington where he continued in practice until his death, January 27th, 1871. He was always an active and successful practitioner and for a long time was the acknowledged leader of the Berkshire bar. He tried many cases in the neighboring States of New York and Connecticut. He was twice a State Senator and three times a member of the House. In 1844 he was the democratic candidate for Congress, his successful competitor being the whig candidate, Hon. Julius Rockwell. In 1851 he was appointed district attorney of the Western District of Massachusetts which then comprised four counties, and served as such for two years. He was a member of the constitutional convention in 1833, three times a candidate of the Republican and American parties for the office of lieutenant governor, and in 1856 was delegate to the convention at Philadelphia which nominated Millard Fillmore for president. In 1870 he was appointed by Governor Claflin judge of the District Court of Southern Berkshire, which position he held till the time of his death. Aside from his legal and official labors he found time for other congenial pursuits. His orations and addresses on political, agricultural, and literary topics would fill volumes. He had fine literary tastes and no man was better acquainted with such authors as Bacon and Burke than he. Although not a college graduate his scholarly attainments were recognized by Williams College, which in 1839 conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts. He was a man of strong convictions and undoubted integrity. The following is an extract from an article published in the *Adams Transcript* soon after Mr. Sumner's death:

"At the time of his death he was judge of the District Court of Southern Berkshire and the oldest lawyer but one of the bar. He was the last active member of that influential and distinguished group of men who ruled the Berkshire bar twenty-five years ago. We can recall but five survivors—Sayles, of South Adams, the Tuckett brothers, Judge Rockwell, and Judge Bishop (since deceased) of Lenox, and all of these except Sayles long since abandoned active practice. Sumner has now gone to join in the silent land his associates and competitors—Briggs, Brington, Deane, Whiting, Hubbard, Filley, Robinson, Field, Porter, Dwyer, and Leekkas. That was a





notable circle of strong men who used to meet in the parlour of the old court house at Lenox, and who, after the struggles of the day were over, and they had reached the parlor of the Currier boarding house across the way, made the nights delightful and memorable with their sparkling stories and converse. Those were brilliant days and nights for the younger members of the bar, who never wanted at those times and stimulating exhibitions of power and wit. Time and time have changed all this and rapidly removed these actors from mortal view. Among this famous company Mr Sumner was conspicuous for his legal learning, his skill and eloquence as an advocate, his tireless energy and indomitable will and courage in the conduct of cases. He was fond of social carousing and festive dissipation and trouble had exhausted him, he furnish an important contribution to the common enjoyment. He had blemishes and infirmities, like the rest, but these are now forgotten as we remember his stalwart will, the eloquent tongue, the keen wit, the robust, commanding logic of this remarkable pleader. He loved the profession and devoted all his faculties to his practice. He was true to his clients, and fought for their interests with incomparable ardor, and for a long time was the leader of the bar. Those who heard him in his prime will not soon forget that rare forensic skill and powerful speech."

*Daniel Parish* was born in Warthington about 1796, graduated at Williams College in 1822, and was admitted to the bar in October, 1823. He practiced for awhile in North Adams and then removed to Cleveland, Ohio. He died at Fort Lee, N. Y., in 1868.

*George J. Tucker*, the second son of Joseph and Lucy Newell Tucker, was born in Lenox, Mass., October 17th, 1804, prepared for college at Lenox Academy, and graduated from Williams College in 1829. He studied law with Judge William P. Walker and at the famous Litchfield Law School, and was admitted to the bar in 1825, and opened an office in Lenox. He was married September 29th, 1829, to Miss Eunice Cook of Lenox, by whom he had four children, only one of whom (Joseph) is now living. August 5th, 1845, he was married to Miss Harriet Sill, of Middletown, Conn., by whom he had four children. He practiced law very successfully until 1845, when on the death of his father, he succeeded him in the office of register of deeds for the middle district of this county, and county treasurer, and about this time served in the Legislature. His father had been register of deeds since 1801, and treasurer since 1811 by successive re-elections, and he held these offices after his father (except a short time when by statute they were incompatible, during which time he held the office of treasurer, and on the repeal of this statute was again made register till 1875, when he resigned the registry and continued to be treasurer till his death in October, 1878, when his son, George H., was made treasurer and is still in that office, so that the father and son (with the short interruption stated) held the office of register of deeds for seventy-four years, and the grandfather, father, and grandson, the important office of treasurer for seventy-two years by successive re-elections. These men must have been good and faithful public servants. He died in October, 1878, at the age of seventy-four years. He had a legal mind of the highest order, thoroughly trained and educated, quick to grasp the governing

















